

Saturday June 8 1996

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Australia A 2.00	United Kingdom 1.50	Portugal 2.00
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Belgium B 2.00	United States 1.50	Spain CR 1.50
Canada C 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Chad C 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
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Denmark DK 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
France F 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Germany G 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Greece GR 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Hungary H 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
India I 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Italy I 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Japan J 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Korea K 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Malaysia M 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Netherlands N 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Norway N 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
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Portugal P 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
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Sweden S 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Switzerland S 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
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Thailand T 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Turkey T 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
United States U 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
United Kingdom U 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00
Yugoslavia Y 1.00	United States 1.50	Spain US 2.00

The Guardian INTERNATIONAL
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

David Lacey on football's main event

Euro 96

Kick-off

David Hearst on the campaign to buy victory

Yeltsin, the last Tsar

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Context

Melvyn Bragg on why television needs to look back

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BBC inquiry into funding of top shows

Hat Trick's headquarters in the West End of London

Television company producing comedy programme Have I Got News For You faces questions on handling of cost-savings after Guardian investigation

Patrick Donovan
City Editor

THE BBC has launched an urgent inquiry into the corporation's financial relationship with Hat Trick Productions, one of Britain's most prestigious independent television companies, which makes a string of successful shows, including Have I Got News For You and Drop The Dead Donkey.

Hat Trick, which is credited with discovering contemporary comedy talent such as Harry Enfield and Clive Anderson, will be confronted with a series of specific questions by accountants from the BBC.



Denise O'Donoghue... invited BBC to audit company's books



Jimmy Mulville... creative genius behind Hat Trick

money between programmes without authority.

Other directors include Jimmy Mulville, regarded as the creative genius behind the company, Mary Bell and Geoffrey Perkins. They shared salaries of £705,450 for the last financial year. The company last year made pre-tax profits of £403,703, according to latest accounts filed in Companies House.

The BBC pays Hat Trick around £1.2 million a series for Have I Got News For You, the satirical game show which is one of the company's most successful productions.

Hat Trick pays huge sums for top stars to appear on the show, although they are contracted for appearances and have no involvement in the running of the company or its financial affairs.

It is understood that its host, Angus Deayton, earns £12,100 per show together with a weekly "exclusivity" bonus of £4,250. The editor of Private Eye, Ian Hislop, also earns a flat programme fee of £12,100, taking his series earnings to £26,300.

Other perks include individual clothing allowances of £4,500. Other popular programmes made by Hat Trick include Channel 4's Clive Anderson Talks Back, which pays the former lawyer £37,000 per programme with individual appearance fees of £5,000 for designated "extra special guests".

There is no suggestion that Mr Deayton or any of the other artists employed by Hat Trick are either aware of or involved in the inquiries.

Apart from these expensive overheads, however, BBC accountants are understood to be keen to satisfy themselves that other budget expenses were justified.

Examples include:

- Claims for an extra £100-per-person bonus for ordinary production staff for bank holiday working, which has not been generally paid on the series. It is understood that although Hat Trick was fully refunded for one cancelled programme in the last series of Have I Got News For You, some freelance staff never received money owing.
- Other claims in the programme budget for the current series include provisions for "voice-over sessions" and "extras" which are not generally used in the making of the series.
- An examination over whether fixed overhead costs, payments due to staff which were budgeted for commissioned programmes were fully justified. According to a letter sent to the independent finance manager of the BBC, Jane Plackett, on February 20, Hat Trick includes Richard Osman as one of the programme's writers on Have I Got News For You for a daily fee of £250, contracted to work two days a week.

However, Mr Osman does not work in the programme's office and it has been established that he is not a regular writer for the show, concentrating on other Hat Trick work. There is no suggestion that Mr Osman has any knowledge of how his salary originates.

IRA holds crucial ceasefire talks

David Shearlock, Durcan Campbell and Richard Norton-Taylor

THE IRA leadership will be making crucial decisions this weekend about if and when to call a new ceasefire after issuing its third statement to confirm it was studying the proposed agenda for talks.

The move is in response to concerted pressure from London, Dublin and, crucially, Washington. A further statement will be issued in the next 48 hours.

Yesterday's statement coincided with the arrest of five men in connection with the Canary Wharf bombing, which ended the previous ceasefire. Last night, the men were being held for questioning under the Prevention of Terrorism Act at Paddington Green police station, London. Four were arrested in South Armagh and flown to the mainland. The fifth was arrested in Barking, east London.

In a separate statement, the IRA denied any involvement in a bungled postal van raid yesterday in which an Irish policeman was murdered and another seriously injured. Eyewitnesses said men dressed in paramilitary garb and brandishing Kalashnikov assault rifles opened fire on two plain clothes officers after ramming their vehicle in the village of Adare, Co Limerick.

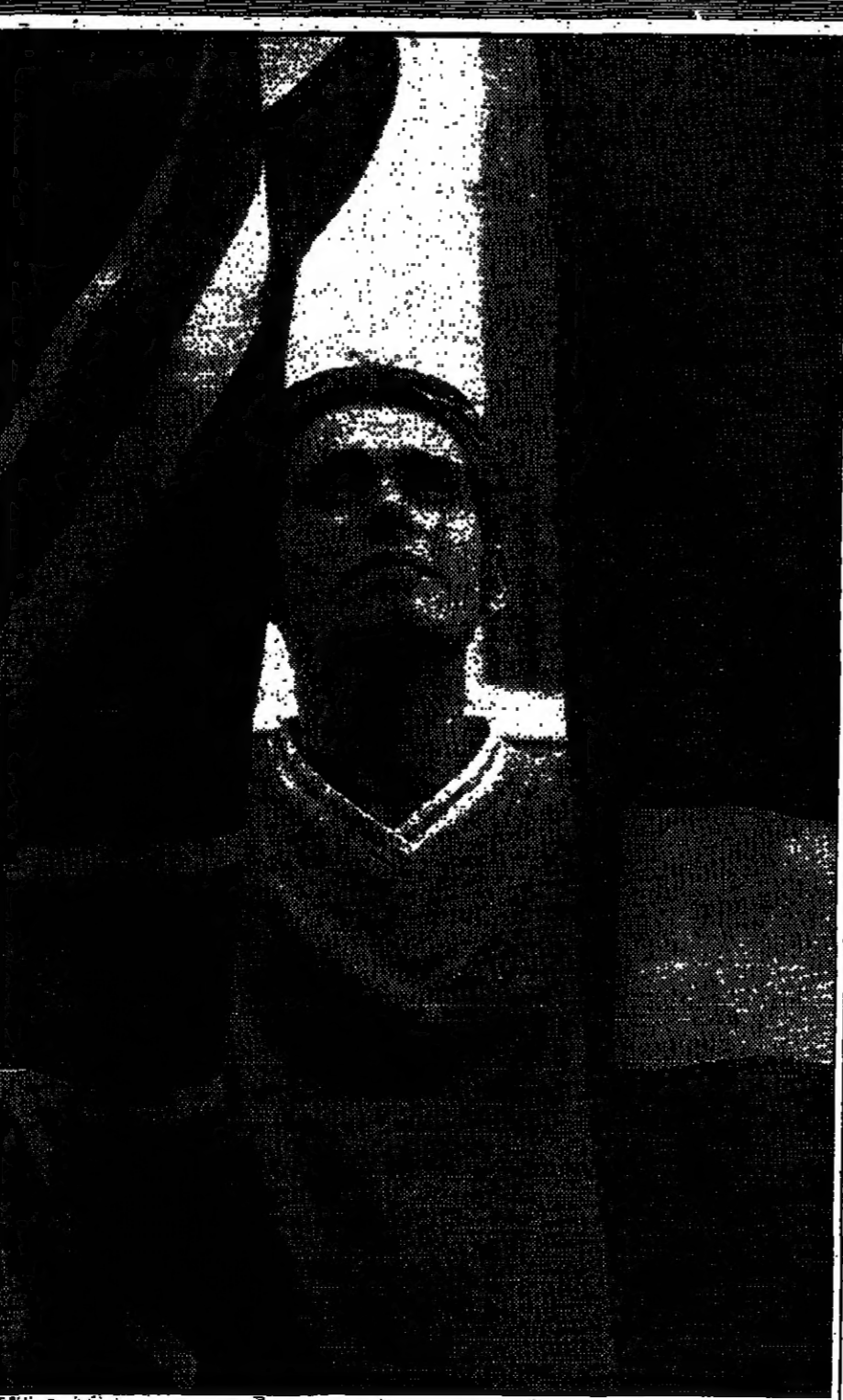
A statement telephoned to Ireland's state broadcasting network RTE, in Dublin followed police indications that the IRA was responsible for the killing. It is the first time a police officer has been killed in the republic for more than 10 years.

A caller using a recognised code word said: "None of our volunteers or units was in any way involved in this morning's incident at Adare. There was absolutely no IRA involvement."

In South Armagh, the four men were detained after Scotland Yard anti-terrorist officers, backed up by army units, moved in to search farm outbuildings near the border village of Forkhill. The security service is also understood to have been involved.

It is thought the combined police and army operation was trying to locate the workshop where the lorry used to transport the huge South Quay bomb may have been converted. Several homes were raided.

Sources suggest that the arrests were more to do with history of the lorry rather than the actual bombing.



Waiting for the whistle... Tom Gorm-Petersen, from Denmark, with British and Swiss flags in a north London street yesterday

After Merrie England carnival, Euro 96 kicks off with not-so-merry claims that a Nazi invention is being resurrected

John Duncan
Sports Correspondent

TWO years of planning, £18 million to stage, 297 complaints about tickets, 159 hooliganic antics and 284 assorted denials by the Football Association, and Euro 96 can finally get down to the football at Wembley today.

Well not quite. First there is an opening ceremony to be got through before England kick off against Switzerland. The Merrie England carnival is followed by St George and the Dragon and then Gerald Naprous and the Devil's Horsemen present their much acclaimed Medieval Knights routine.

The history of football in 20 minutes starts with a Middle Ages free-for-all - something that we may see again the following Saturday when Scotland come to Wembley - and a re-creation of the first international, a 0-0 draw between Scotland and England in 1872, a result that both will be hoping to avoid next week.

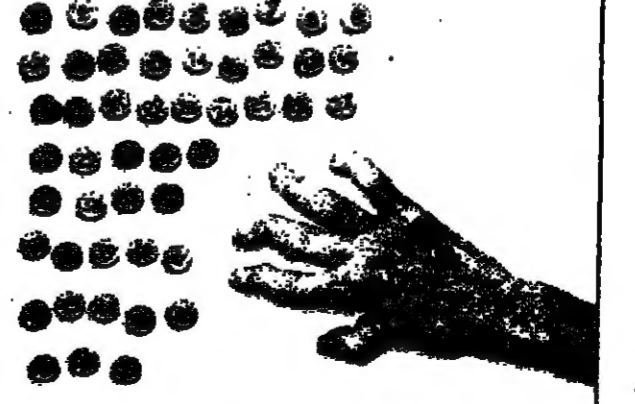
However, there was one last tangle to be sorted out by the organisers yesterday when the German-based International Federation of Football History and Statistics said UEFA's "golden goal" rule for deciding drawn matches was a golden own goal - a Nazi invention that should not be used. The rule says that drawn games in the second round will be won by whichever team scores first in extra time.

"It is a mockery to re-nome this Nazi invention a golden goal," the federation president Alfredo Poegge said yesterday. "You can't glorify something the Nazis introduced. It is totally discredited. It leaves a bitter taste in the mouth to see Fifa and Uefa taking over this rule invented by the German fascists."

He said soccer's world governing body Fifa claimed that "sudden death" was first used in Spain in 1950, but his research showed the Germans created it in 1935 and used it in more than 400 games before 1944.

No golden goals were needed in Hendon, where France won a tournament between teams of supporters of all 16 nations. There was only one ugly incident in the tournament, when a Turk was sent off for swearing at the referee in English. After the final, France and England retired to the Middlesex University bar for free beer and British beef sandwiches.

LIFE'S A LOTTERY



When you buy a lottery ticket, you've a one in 14 million chance of winning the jackpot. The chances that you may experience some form of rheumatic disease are rather greater.

As many people in Britain today know, arthritis can cause severe crippling joint damage to hands and wrists, feet, knees, hips, shoulders, elbows, jaw and neck and can also be affected causing unrelenting pain and disability.

The Arthritis and Rheumatism Council is the only major UK charity financing medical research into osteoarthritis and rheumatic diseases at most university hospitals and medical schools in the UK.

Unlike the lottery, successful research programmes aren't dependent on chance. We need your help to increase our odds of finding a cure for these destructive diseases.

Please send me: Your FREE Information Pack

Your FREE Legacy: How to Make a Will Pack

I enclose: £31 £47 £19 my gift of £

Name: _____

Address: _____

Postcode: _____

Birt heads BBC shake-up

Andrew Cuff
Media Correspondent

JOHNS Birt is to remain as the BBC's director general for a further four years to oversee a radical restructuring of the corporation. It was announced yesterday.

Staff reacted with alarm at the prospect of another prolonged period of managerial upheaval, while critics warned that the BBC was downgrading its domestic radio services, imperilling the World Service and preparing for widespread job cuts.

John Tusa, a former head of the BBC World Service, said the changes could result in an expansion of bureaucracy instead of the hoped-for streamlining of the corporation.

Sir Christopher Bland, the BBC's chairman, and Mr Birt insisted radio was not being relegated in importance in the changes, which mean responsibility for commissioning and scheduling television and radio services is to be combined into one directorate.

Mr Birt is to become director of radio. His term as the £285.000-a-year head of the corporation was due to expire at the end of 1997, but he has agreed to stay until the year 2000.

His management blueprint — the second shake-up he has presided over in three years — is designed to prepare the BBC for the launch of digital services.

Jocelyn Hay, chairman of the Voice of the Listener and Viewer pressure group, said: "We are extremely worried about the future of radio. It is a significant diminution of the importance of radio and it has lost its place at the top

table of management."

Mr Birt denied that the departure four months ago of Liz Forgan, as managing director of network radio, was due to the impending shake-up. But insiders believe she had feared radio was losing its clout in the BBC hierarchy.

Mr Tusa, who ran the World Service until 1992, said the reorganisation was "excessively rigid". Responding to a suggestion that BBC Worldwide chief executive Bob Phillips and World Service managing director Sam Younger did not know of the changes until two days ago, he said on World Service's Newshour programme: "If there wasn't a consultation process I think that shows this was a short of putsch against the World Service."

"The World Service will have to commission its programmes from the domestic BBC Production and BBC News directorates. Mr Tusa said: "This is a bad, bad day for the World Service."

The main broadcasting unions, Bectu, the NUJ and ABEU, said the restructuring would create a further period of upheaval for BBC staff.

Mr Birt insisted the changes were focused on the main task of providing the best service for licence fee payers. "By bringing together all production and commissioning, we are creating the world's largest broadcasting production powerhouse."

He refused to be specific about job cuts under the new structure, but he implemented by April 1997. Since 1993, 5,000 posts have gone. The cost of programme making had to be reduced by 20 per cent in the next 10 years, Mr Birt said.

He added: "Obviously this is another major change. People will take time to accustom themselves to the fact that lots of people will feel nervous about it."



John Birt... is to remain as the BBC's director general and will oversee 'the creation of the world's largest broadcasting production powerhouse'

Savings sought to fund a new broadcast vision

BBC staff were stunned by the scale of the planned reorganisation and surprised by the timing. The reorganisation was agreed this week by chairman Sir Christopher Bland and the BBC's governors, but the blueprint bore the imprimatur of John Birt.

Although viewers and listeners will initially notice little change, the changes mean a significant shuffling of the BBC's top executives. The restructuring will have a deeper, substantial economic effect as the BBC is to launch new digital services.

The BBC will have six key elements:

- **BBC Broadcast:** It will commission and schedule services and channels to audiences at home and abroad for television, radio and multimedia, under chief executive Will Wyatt. The directorate will include director of radio Matthew Bannister and a director of television. Regional broadcasting, education and new digital commercial services will all come under Mr Wyatt's umbrella.
- **BBC Production:** The directorate, under chief executive Ron Neil, will have the largest creative production capacity in the world. It will include sports and events, children's programmes, factual, drama, specialist education, entertainment, music and arts, multi-media production (but not news) for World Service radio. A director of programmes is to be announced.
- **BBC News:** The name of the news and current affairs directorate is simplified but its responsibilities are expanded under chief executive Tony Hall. Richard Ayre, controller of editorial policy, will become deputy director after the General Election, following the departure of deputy managing director

Eric Bowman. Jenny Abramsky, controller of Radio 5 Live, becomes head of continuous news services, including the planned 24-hour digital news service, and making programmes under contract for BBC World, the international news channel. A new controller is to be recruited for 5 Live. BBC News will also be commissioned to make English language news services for World Service radio.

□ **BBC Worldwide:** Under chief executive Bob Phillips, who is also the BBC's deputy director general, it will continue to be responsible for the marketing, sales and distribution of BBC output. Direct editorial management of BBC World and BBC Prime will be contracted to the BBC News and BBC Broadcast directorates. World Service radio will continue to commission its output and be responsible entirely for foreign language services.

□ **Corporate Centre:** Personnel, corporate affairs, finance and information technology, and policy and planning remain in this directorate.

Mr Birt said the new structure was planned in 1993 when he took over as director general but was too complicated to introduce in one step.

He said savings from the streamlining would finance the BBC's vision of digital television. The corporation is planning the broadcasting of BBC1 and BBC2 in widescreen format and a range of multi-media products and services.

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities

City	Temp	Wind	Weather
London	18	SW 12	Cloudy
Manchester	16	SW 10	Cloudy
Birmingham	17	SW 11	Cloudy
Cardiff	15	SW 8	Cloudy
Belfast	14	SW 6	Cloudy
Edinburgh	13	SW 5	Cloudy
Glasgow	12	SW 4	Cloudy
London	18	SW 12	Cloudy
Manchester	16	SW 10	Cloudy
Birmingham	17	SW 11	Cloudy
Cardiff	15	SW 8	Cloudy
Belfast	14	SW 6	Cloudy
Edinburgh	13	SW 5	Cloudy
Glasgow	12	SW 4	Cloudy

Around the world

City	Temp	Wind	Weather
London	18	SW 12	Cloudy
Manchester	16	SW 10	Cloudy
Birmingham	17	SW 11	Cloudy
Cardiff	15	SW 8	Cloudy
Belfast	14	SW 6	Cloudy
Edinburgh	13	SW 5	Cloudy
Glasgow	12	SW 4	Cloudy
London	18	SW 12	Cloudy
Manchester	16	SW 10	Cloudy
Birmingham	17	SW 11	Cloudy
Cardiff	15	SW 8	Cloudy
Belfast	14	SW 6	Cloudy
Edinburgh	13	SW 5	Cloudy
Glasgow	12	SW 4	Cloudy

European weather outlook

Grey skies and showery bursts of rain across much of Norway and Sweden, although the southern part of Sweden should stay mostly fine and warm. Finland is expected to be dry and quite sunny, but Denmark will be very warm and humid at first with thundery showers, followed by drier and cooler weather. Highs ranging from 27C over eastern Denmark to just 12C in the far north.

Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland:

Another stunning day for most places with blue skies and unbroken sunshine, but the Low Countries will be more unsettled with a threat of thundery showers. Max temp 28-32C.

France:

North-east France will be hot and sunny with showery Central and southern France will be very hot and sunny. Highs 29-34C, but lower in Brittany.

Spain and Portugal:

Portugal and north-west Spain will be mostly dry and bright with patchy cloud, sunny spells and isolated showers. The rest of Spain should have blue skies and virtually uninterrupted sunshine. Highs 27-34C but higher in Seville and Cordoba and a bit lower on the beaches with pleasant sea-breezes.

An isolated thunderstorm is possible in the south but most of the country will have plenty of hot sunshine and light breezes. Highs 26-31C.

Greece:

It will be glorious again over most of Greece with crystal clear blue skies and sun-filled seas. It will be very hot inland with nights up to 32C but comfortably cooler on the beaches and islands.

Television and radio — Saturday

BBC 1
8.00am News, 8.30am Breakfast, 9.00am News, 9.30am News, 10.00am News, 10.30am News, 11.00am News, 11.30am News, 12.00pm News, 1.00pm News, 1.30pm News, 2.00pm News, 2.30pm News, 3.00pm News, 3.30pm News, 4.00pm News, 4.30pm News, 5.00pm News, 5.30pm News, 6.00pm News, 6.30pm News, 7.00pm News, 7.30pm News, 8.00pm News, 8.30pm News, 9.00pm News, 9.30pm News, 10.00pm News, 10.30pm News, 11.00pm News, 11.30pm News, 12.00am News, 1.00am News, 1.30am News, 2.00am News, 2.30am News, 3.00am News, 3.30am News, 4.00am News, 4.30am News, 5.00am News, 5.30am News, 6.00am News, 6.30am News, 7.00pm News, 7.30pm News, 8.00pm News, 8.30pm News, 9.00pm News, 9.30pm News, 10.00pm News, 10.30pm News, 11.00pm News, 11.30pm News, 12.00am News, 1.00am News, 1.30am News, 2.00am News, 2.30am News, 3.00am News, 3.30am News, 4.00am News, 4.30am News, 5.00am News, 5.30am News, 6.00am News, 6.30am News, 7.00pm News, 7.30pm News, 8.00pm News, 8.30pm News, 9.00pm News, 9.30pm News, 10.00pm News, 10.30pm News, 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Battle continues to rage over Guernica as Basques lay claim to Picasso's tortured symbol



Guernica, painted after fascist bombers attacked the Basque town. Picasso allowed it to be shown in Madrid when democracy was restored, but now the Basques are claiming it for a new museum in Bilbao. PICTURE COURTESY BRIDGEMAN LIBRARY

Born of civil war, the masterpiece yet again forms the backdrop to Spanish strife, writes Adela Gooch in Madrid

PICASSO'S emblematic canvas Guernica, which suffered many years of political exile before going on display in Madrid after the death of General Franco, has become the subject of a new battle: the Basque government wants it to form the centrepiece of a new museum in the region.

The painting has particular significance for Basques because it depicts the bombing of Guernica, site of the ancient Basque parliament, by German planes on behalf of General Franco during the Spanish civil war.

But the Reina Sofia modern art museum in Madrid, where it is a star attraction, is reluctant to let it go. Experts there argue that it is too fragile to travel. They argue that it is the property of the Spanish state and should not be used to promote the new Basque museum, which is part of a private foundation. Several members of the Reina Sofia's board have threatened to resign over the issue.

Picasso stated in his will that Guernica, which was commissioned by Spain's Republican government for the great exhibition held in Paris in 1937, should become part of the Prado's collection — but only after democracy was reinstated. The painting came to Madrid in 1981 and was shown in the Prado until the Reina Sofia succeeded in wrenching it away.

However, Basque nationalists have always claimed that the painting should be shown in Guernica itself. The painting's curators in Madrid have countered the demand saying there was no suitable place to display it.

But the Basque case has been strengthened by the decision of the Guggenheim Foundation in the United States to



establish a new museum in Bilbao — due to open next year — to show its modern art collection in Europe. Bilbao is 12 miles from Guernica.

Juan Ignacio Vidarte, director of the Bilbao Guggenheim project, stresses that Guernica — which has always needed special protection from attack and until last year was encased in bullet-proof glass — could be displayed in ideal conditions in the new museum.

"We have several galleries that would meet requirements more than adequately but, of course, it is ultimately a political decision," he said.

This latest tug of war over Guernica follows an unsuccessful attempt by France to borrow the painting last year.

The French had always annoyed Spaniards by laying claim to Picasso, who was born in Malaga but lived much of his life in France.

Guernica was painted in Paris and exhibited in the Great Exhibition there in 1937, where it immediately became a symbol of the battle in Spain between left and right.

The French president, Jacques Chirac, personally

lobbied the Spanish government last autumn for the painting to form part of an exhibition in Paris this year.

Spain's then prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez, refused on the grounds that it was too delicate to travel. Guernica is painted on a fragile canvas with relatively poor materials, and has suffered as a result of its many moves and poor restoration.

For the transfer from the Prado to the Reina Sofia in 1982, roads were cleared and a special truck used to transport the painting in its frame. According to art experts, rolling it up for a longer trip could cause irreparable damage.

But the political pressure for Guernica to travel to Bilbao, if only temporarily, is strong.

The Basque regional government, made up of moderate nationalists, had to lobby hard to persuade the Guggenheim Foundation to locate its new European museum in a region plagued by terrorism.

One of the factors which influenced the decision, apart from the Basques' agreement to foot the 22,300 million peseta (£112 million) bill for the new museum in full, was an assurance given by the Basques that Guernica could be exhibited there.

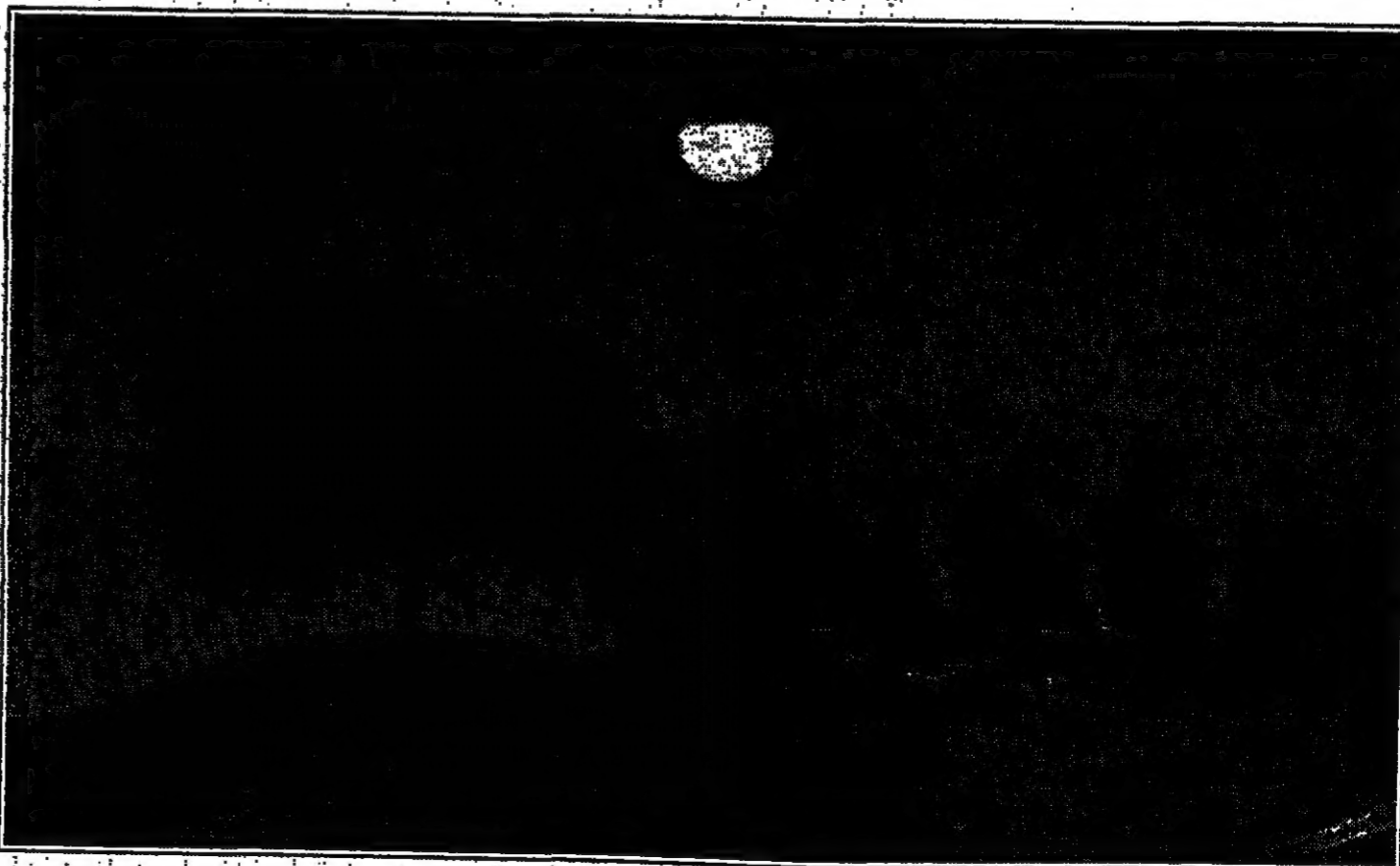
Xabier Arzalluz, the Basque regional president, has raised the subject directly with Spain's new conservative prime minister, José María Aznar, whose minority government relies on nationalists, including the Basques.

Despite the experts' recommendations, Mr Aznar will find it hard to deny the request altogether. It comes amid efforts to promote the Basque country for tourism and counter the negative image created by terrorism.

French police yesterday ejected Spanish Basque separatists from a church they had been occupying. They demand they be allowed to live in France. Several people were arrested, witnesses said.

The 10 separatists had been expelled from France in 1984 on suspicion of ties to the Basque separatist group ETA. They led relatives into the cathedral of Bayonne five days ago.

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Guinness seeks spirits through virtual ouija board

Don Atkinson

CHURCHMEN united yesterday to warn the public away from the world's first Internet ouija board, which has been set up by the drinks company Guinness.

Guinness is launching the virtual ouija board on Monday as part of an Internet promotion celebrating 150 years of Dewar's whisky. The board allows net users to switch the movement of a whisky glass over to random spiritual control.

Father Dominic Walker, a psychologist and a church

adviser on the occult, said the public should give it a wide berth. He said: "I can't imagine how it would work on the Internet", adding "it can be dangerous".

Father Kit Cunningham, rector of St Etheldreda's Catholic church in Holborn, London, said it was "horrendously dangerous... I'm appalled".

A spokesman for Dewar's insisted the "board" was nothing more than "light-hearted entertainment".

This is the first time ouija has been available on the Internet. It forms one part of Dewar's Internet promotion, which centres on Tommy Dewar, son of the

distillery's founder, John Dewar. Tommy was perhaps the first marketing guru, once declaring: "Advertising is to sales what imagination is to poetry".

Mr Walker doubted if a ouija board could work on the net, as the real thing "relies upon a certain psychodynamics". He believes that a ouija glass does move, but does so as a result of mental energy created by a fearful or stressed person.

Last night, Dewar was not discounting entirely the idea that the "board" may actually make contact with the spirit world. "Well, it's hard to say," said a spokesman.

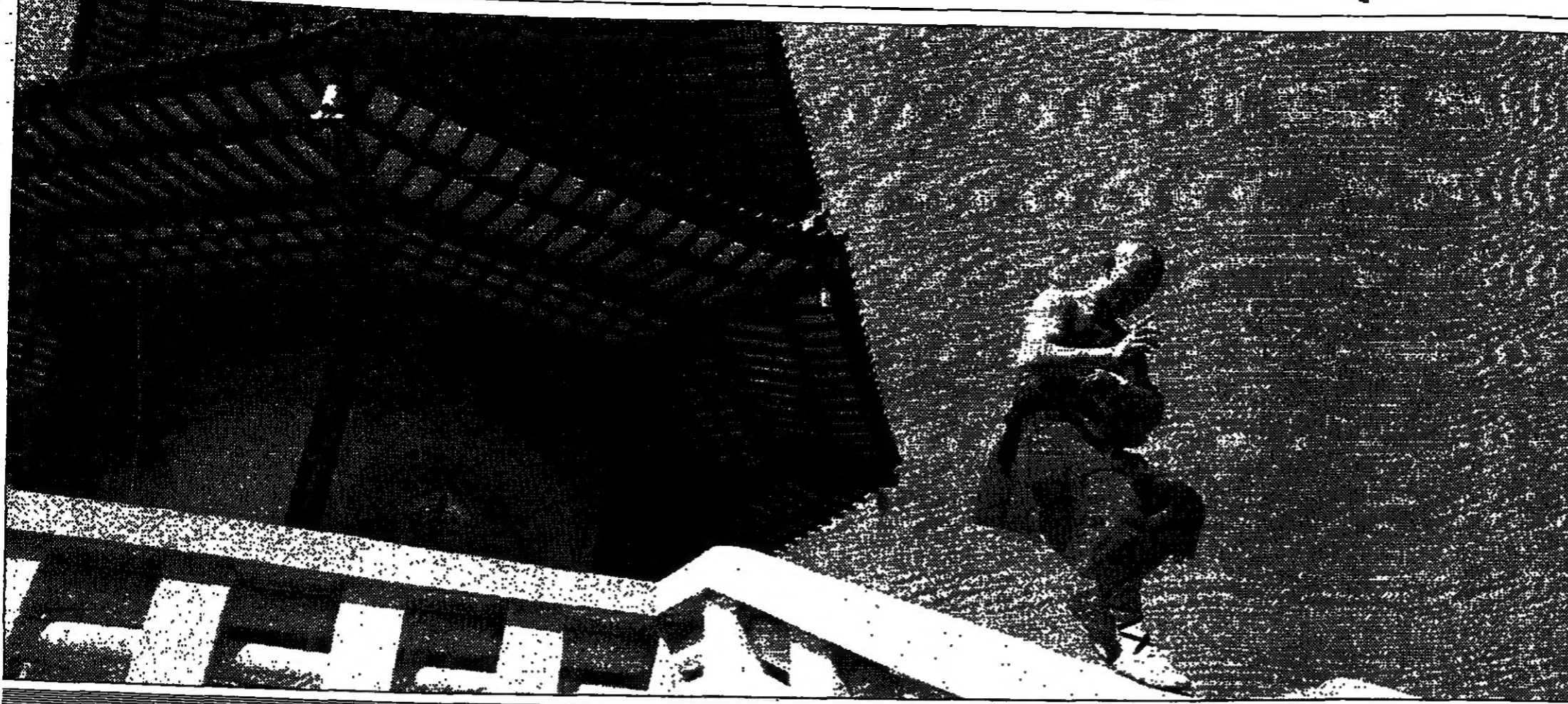
Television's obsession with the present is exciting and successful and ultimately dangerous. It is the equivalent of the get-rich-quick fast-farming which so rapidly made an agricultural desert of so many fertile prairies.

Melvyn Bragg

Outlook page 19

John Major 1996

BRITAIN 5



SHI SUGUANG drew his hands above his head, then swept them through the air to his sides, writes Madeleine Bunting. Instantly, his shaved head reddened with concentration and effort. He paused and relaxed. Picking up an iron bar almost a centimetre thick, he smashed it over his head, scattering chunks of metal. He then bowed and walked over to his fellow Zen monks, leaving his audience gawping. One of 25 monks due to begin their first tour of Britain next week, Shi Suguang has trained in meditation and martial arts for 20 years. The monks come from Shaolin, the oldest monastery in China and the birthplace of Zen Buddhism and kung fu. A sharp crack echoed around the Buddhist Peace Pagoda in Battersea Park, London, opposite, as one monk smashed a wooden stake across the bare back of another, Shi Xingyun. They concentrated their minds in a few seconds and then leapt effortlessly high into the air and somersaulted. The monks will visit Newcastle, Sheffield, Manchester, Birmingham and London from next Thursday. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID MANSELL

Labour leader's preferred approach already standard at state schools

Blair rejects mixed ability teaching

John Carvel Education Editor

TONY BLAIR yesterday extracted maximum political advantage from a speech committing a Labour government to encourage grouping of children by ability in comprehensives, in spite of evidence that this is already standard practice for most lessons in an overwhelming majority of state secondary schools. He dissociated the party from principles of mixed ability teaching which were fashionable among educational theorists 20 or 30 years ago, but which are now rarely applied in core subjects for pupils over the age of 13. "Mixed ability teaching is for some people as much of an ideology as the principle of comprehensive admission itself," he said at Didcot Girls' School in Oxfordshire. "Not to take account of the obvious common sense that different children move at different speeds and have differing abilities, is to give idealism a bad name. The modernisation of the comprehensive principle requires that all pupils are encouraged to progress as far and as fast as they are able. Grouping children by ability can be an important way of making that happen. The speech was described by Conservative officials as "the longest apology note in history". John Major said it was "the usual public rela-

tions exercise", and hoped Mr Blair would apologise for "30 years of Labour education policy and the activity of almost every Labour education authority up and down the country".

John Dumford, president of the Secondary Heads Association, said he knew of no comprehensive adopting the mixed ability approach throughout its teaching. Many heads thought it suitable for pupils in their first year of transition after primary school and valuable in later years for subjects such

as art and music. "But there are virtually no schools which do mixed ability across the board for philosophical reasons."

Most pupils were already divided into sets according to their ability in individual subjects - notably for maths and English. This did not amount to backdoor streaming, he said, because children in the top ability range in one subject often showed less aptitude in another. Mr Blair gave a strong restatement of Labour's belief in the comprehensive system and gave praise to the beleaguered teaching profession

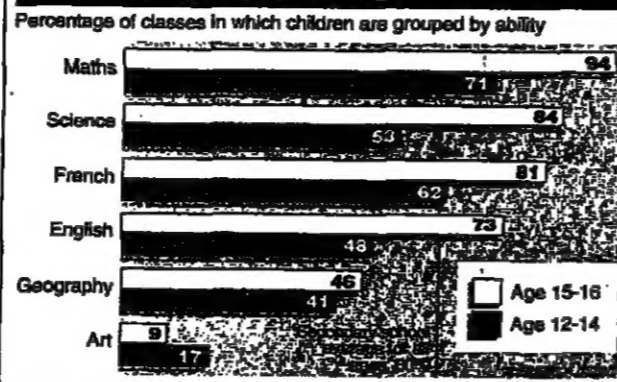
for its contribution to raising standards. "More children are doing better than ever before," he said. "This is a tribute to teachers in comprehensive schools - which still educate over 90 per cent of our young people."

But there was still an unacceptable gap between the performance of the best and worst schools. "In some cases problems in comprehensives have resulted from a desire among teachers to provide for children from disadvantaged backgrounds a warm and caring environment, but not to a sufficient extent the high expectations which are so essential to success."

The result of this "well-meaning but damaging attitude" was to reinforce those children's disadvantage. "Equality must not become the enemy of quality."

The speech was being interpreted yesterday as a move to identify Labour with the traditional educational approach, but Mr Blair said new technology was helping the better schools to move beyond the old debate between mixed ability and selection. It was now possible to achieve more flexible timetables, allowing schools to vary their approach to pupil grouping. Labour would use the policy levers of special grants, Ofsted inspections, teacher training and advanced skills teacher status "to promote a third way between the limitations of the 11-plus and mixed ability teaching", he said.

Grouping by ability



All-in groups were widely seen as impractical from the start

John Carvel

ENTHUSIASM for mixed-ability teaching developed in the profession about 30 years ago, but never took hold in comprehensives, which continued to divide pupils according to aptitude in particular subjects once they had settled down in the school.

In 1961 the London County Council said none of its comprehensive schools was organised "upon the impractical assumptions that teaching groups covering the whole range of ability are suitable or desirable".

The mixed-ability approach began to gather momentum in the mid-1960s, when teacher conferences and workshops began to focus on evidence of successful classroom experiments. Teachers reported increased motivation among pupils, improved standards of behaviour and greater willingness to participate in the life of the

school. But the shift to mixed-ability teaching was never completed. In a study this year, Caroline Benn and Clyde Clitty said: "Despite the campaigning zeal of a number of heads and teachers, all the evidence suggests that the movement to challenge traditional forms of pupil grouping began to lose its momentum in the 1970s. The majority of schools were reluctant to experiment with the new (and largely unproven) methods of organising learning."

Mobile phone sales firms told to drop unfair terms

Nicholas Barnister Technology Editor

THE LEADING mobile phone sales companies have been told to drop unfair terms in their contracts or face legal action by the Office of Fair Trading.

The companies include subsidiaries of British Telecom and all four cellular network operators - Cellnet, Vodafone, Orange and Mercury One-2-One. The others, Astec Communications, Motorola Tel-co, the Peoples Phone Company and UniqueAir, in effect sell airtime on the big networks but are allowed to have their own tariff packages and contracts.

John Bridgeman, OFT director general, said the contracts were unfairly weighted in favour of the companies and that he would seek an injunction preventing their use if companies did not agree to drop the unfair terms.

After poor geographical coverage, contract terms are probably the biggest cause for complaints by Britain's 5 million mobile users. Some customers who have not read the small print carefully can find themselves locked into pay-

Poor air quality

OFT wants an end to: Terms in print smaller than rest of material; Unintelligible or hidden terms; Too many, and often too legalistic, clauses; Companies' ability to change prices without giving customers escape routes; Unreasonably long periods of notice; Compensation payments for contracts ended early; Wide-ranging limitation of company's liability.

at the OFT statement since discussions on improving contracts were already under way. David Savage, chairman of Astec and of the service provider section of the Federation of Communication Services, said a final draft of a new code of conduct would be completed within six weeks. Most of the companies accept that improvements in presentation and clarity could be made, but most rejected the OFT's criticism of long initial contracts, pointing out that they had to be able to recover the subsidies on hand sets. A phone sold for £9.99 to the subscriber actually cost the service provider about £300, Mr Savage said.

The Consumers' Association welcomed Mr Bridgeman's "firm and public stand", adding that only the OFT could take effective action against mobile phone service providers.

The move was also welcomed by Dot Crickbank, director general of Ofel, which receives about 4,000 complaints a year about mobile phones but is powerless to act if a customer has signed a contract. The industry was surprised

Tax-efficient ways of passing on property

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"There is a huge attachment to the bridge. It is a beautiful structure and once you've started here people rarely want to leave. I can't imagine myself working anywhere else until I retire."

Outlook page 15

Coping with bereavement

When someone dies, practical decisions have to be made quickly at a traumatic time. *What to Do When Someone Dies* is the essential book from *Which?* that has guided over 200,000 readers through the process. Clear, concise and practical, it looks at • registering a death • the role of the coroner • organ donation • arranging a funeral • choosing between burial and cremation • claiming state benefits • arranging a funeral without a funeral director • humanist and other non-Christian funerals • coping with grief • the funeral ombudsman scheme. In addition, there's a list of support groups offering help during this difficult time, plus advice on pre-arranging your own funeral. Covering law and practice in England and Wales, and highlighting the important differences which apply in Scotland, *What to Do When Someone Dies* is required reading for anyone facing bereavement. It costs just £9.99 (P&P FREE), so why not order your copy NOW using the order form on the right? Full refund if not satisfied.

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with details of how substantial savings can be made • how the Probate Registry works • what happens in the absence of a will. The book describes law and procedures in England and Wales, and outlines the main differences which apply in Scotland and Northern Ireland. With full details of all the procedures that executors should follow in administering the estate of a deceased person, *Wills and Probate* really is invaluable. It costs just £10.99 (P&P FREE), so why not order your copy NOW, using the order form below? Full refund if not satisfied.

Order form for 'Which?' guides. Includes fields for name, address, and payment details. The form is for 'Which? Guide to Giving and Inheriting' (SP53) and 'Wills and Probate' (SP53). It includes checkboxes for 'I would like to order...' and 'I would like to order...'. The form also includes a section for 'How to pay' with options for 'By cheque' and 'By credit card'. The form ends with a 'Signed' field and a 'Date' field.

Advertisement for '7 DAYS IN THE LIFE OF A MONK'. The text is arranged in a large, stylized font. Below the title, there is a list of seven days of activities: DAY ONE (Prayer, chanting and good works), DAY FIVE (More ditto), DAY TWO (More prayer, chanting and good works), DAY SIX (Even more ditto), DAY THREE (More of the above), DAY SEVEN (At last! Arrival of the Abbot's Ale after 7 days fermentation. Celebrate with prayer, chanting and good works), DAY FOUR (Ditto). At the bottom, it says 'ABBOT ALE FROM GREENE KING'. There is an image of a glass of ale and a bottle of Abbot Ale.

Bosnia polls: a failure in the making

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

THE United States-based pressure group Human Rights Watch yesterday described the Bosnian peace process as a "failure in the making" and warned that unless Nato and the international community do more to enforce respect for human rights, elections due in three months will be a "charade".

The scathing report details widespread human rights abuses, particularly on Serb territory. It has intensified the spotlight already trained on the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which was given the job last December of supervising elections and judging whether Bosnia was ready for a free poll.

That judgment was pre-

empted at Sunday's Balkan conference in Geneva by the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, who announced elections would take place on schedule by September 14, despite the concerns of the OSCE's human rights monitors.

The US government is eager to get Bosnia's elections out of the way and begin the withdrawal of US troops before the American presidential elections in November.

The OSCE now finds itself under considerable US pressure to administer rushed elections which many in the organisation fear will only entrench Serb hardliners and hasten the division of Bosnia.

The two top officials co-ordinating human rights monitoring and election preparations have resigned in the past fortnight, and staff morale is at an all-time low after the OSCE leadership em-

barked on what many employees viewed as a whitewash of the human rights situation.

According to staff, Robert Frowick (the US diplomat who heads the OSCE mission in Bosnia) returned from the Geneva conference with orders to play down human rights concerns.

"We were told basically to accentuate the positive and eliminate the negative," said one disgruntled employee. "I think a lot of us were wondering what we were here for in the first place, and whether the OSCE should have had a human rights arm at all."

The Geneva conference was also followed by rigid new rules restricting staff communication with the press, and a witch-hunt for employees who leaked information.

Mr Frowick's chief of staff, Bill Stuebner, resigned a fortnight ago. Colleagues said he

felt his reports warning that conditions for free elections did not exist were being ignored. The director of elections, Judy Thompson, also stood down, reportedly complaining that the OSCE did not have the resources to enforce I-For, said there was no evidence of political will on the Serb side to allow the reintegration of the country and free movement of its people, and there had been "zero" change in Serb attitudes since I-For arrived in December.

Mr Frowick argued earlier this week that holding elections, even in a very imperfect environment, could help democracy take root. To insist on better conditions before going ahead, he said, "would imply we need democracy first before we have elections."

Diplomats point out that even opposition parties, of all ethnic identities, favour going ahead with the elections.

But OSCE human rights officials are concerned that elections would entrench the position of indicted war criminals such as Radovan Karadzic, currently in power in

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European election monitors 'have been told to do something they don't believe in. They're in a crisis'

European election monitors have been told to do something they don't believe in. They're in a crisis.

The resignations have compounded earlier staff difficulties. OSCE salaries have not been high enough to draw experts from Europe and the US, so — with voter registration already under way — 12 out of 49 human rights posts have not been filled.

The elections mission is further hamstrung by bureau-

resolutely opposed to free elections and are hampering the work of OSCE field officers. Hardliners are preventing refugees from crossing the old front line to return to their homes, and nationalists across the country retain an iron grip on the media.

Admiral Leighton Smith, the outgoing commander of the Nato-led peacekeeping

Sale of top Czech team tests supporters' loyalty

The purchase by Slovak neighbours of Prague's top football team has dented national pride, writes Ian Traynor

THE Czech national football team have qualified for the finals of Euro 96 starting this weekend, but otherwise it has been a miserable season for the pride of their domestic league, Sparta Prague.

In the previous 10 years the team that utterly dominates Czech football won the league championship eight times and finished runners-up twice. This year they came a wretched fourth and were reduced to admitting fans free by the final matches.

But just when it seemed things could get no worse, they did. The club was sold — to foreigners. And not any old foreigners, but a Slovak company.

Since Czechoslovakia split in 1993, the Czechs have raced ahead economically, scoffing condescendingly at their poorer Slovak neighbours. And while Slovakia failed to qualify for Euro '96, the Czechs will line up against Germany tomorrow.

But having seized ownership of a symbolic part of the Czech family silver, the Slovaks are now doing the crowding. And Sparta's fans don't like it.

"Well, I wouldn't stand for the sale of Slovak Bratis-

slava [Slovakia's top team]," smirked the Slovak prime minister, Vladimir Meciar, clearly relishing the coup in Prague.

The Czech opposition leader, Milos Zeman, complained it was "absurd" to sell the club "abroad".

Vladimir Kostalik, aged 35, who has attended almost every Sparta home game since his teens, is suddenly having doubts.

"It's not that we're against foreign capital. If the money came from Florida that would be great. But because it's from Slovakia, it's a problem," he said.

The sale of the 102-year-old club, which has won the league a record 22 times, came as a bombshell a couple of weeks ago after being wrapped in mystery and secrecy. Fans feel betrayed.

Petr Makh, a young Prague entrepreneur, was locked in negotiations for

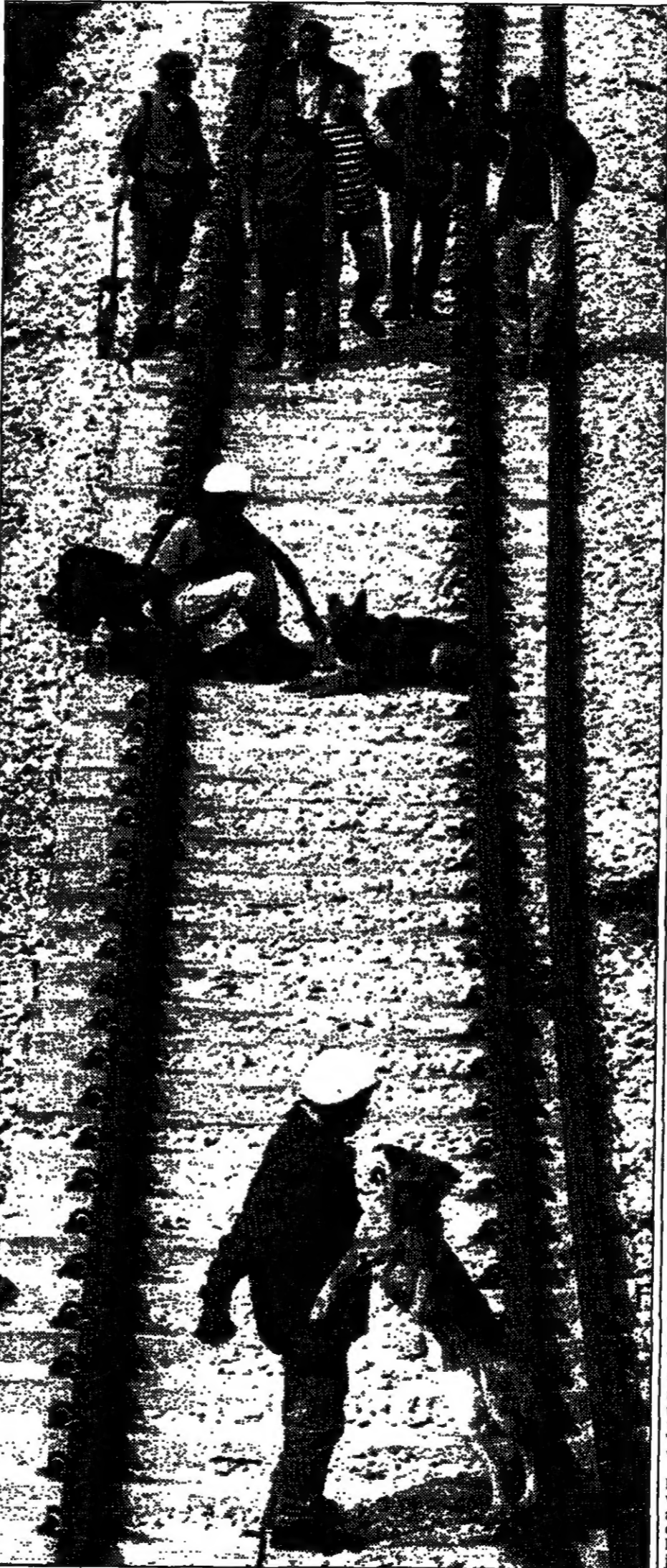
months over the sale of his 93 per cent share in the club. He would not reveal he was talking to the VZS steelworks in the east Slovak town of Koscice. The steelworks is headed by the son of a Slovak government minister.

Worse, Mr Makh misled the fans and country. In a match programme at the end of April, he said he was negotiating with a "strong non-Slovak partner".

Josef Chovanec, aged 36, the former Czech international and PSV Eindhoven sweeper who now manages Sparta, has defended the deception tactics.

"The point is that there were no Czech businessmen willing to invest in the club and they were keen to destroy us," he claimed, hinting at a dark anti-Sparta plot. "We had to hide the fact that our partner was Slovak because we were under a lot of pressure and there are people here who would have tried to wreck the deal. So we pretended we were talking to a Western partner but in reality we were negotiating with someone completely different. Anyway, we don't have problems with Slovaks. We lived with them for long enough."

But Mr Kostalik and his pals in the pubs of Prague will take some convincing that Slovak money is just the ticket to restore Sparta's fortunes. And he is not so sure he can stomach the humble pie.



Dogs of peace... Sniffer dogs from the Norwegian People's Aid de-mining team help clear a railway tunnel to allow investigators from the Hague war crimes tribunal to look for evidence of alleged mass killings near Tuzla, Bosnia. PHOTOGRAPH: ODD ANDERSEN

'Some were thin, others skeletal'

Reuter in The Hague

A GUARDIAN correspondent, Ed Vulliamy, told the Yugoslav war crimes tribunal yesterday how he met Muslims who had been reduced to living skeletons and were too scared to speak of their ordeal in prison camps run by the Bosnian Serbs.

Mr Vulliamy, one of the first reporters to visit the Omarska and Trnopolje camps in August 1992, was testifying in the trial of the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, who is accused of atrocities at the camps during the "ethnic cleansing" of the Prijedor region.

Mr Vulliamy went to the camps, along with an Independent Television News (ITN) crew, at the invitation of the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, who had said the visit would disprove media reports that Muslim prisoners were being mistreated.

At Omarska, the journalists watched as groups of detainees, supervised by armed guards, jogged into a canteen where they were given a minute to eat a bowl of stew and a piece of bread.

Mr Vulliamy said it was immediately apparent that some prisoners were in an appalling physical condition. "They were very thin, others in reasonable condition, others skeletal," he said.

"When they were eating, they were eating as if... they hadn't eaten for a very long time, as if they hadn't seen food for a while. It was a fairly sobering sight," he said.

Under the constant watch of Serb guards, the prisoners were reluctant to respond to the reporters' questions.

The physical state of some of them told us more than their words — as to what kind of treatment they were

getting. There was really very little to go on in terms of interviews and words. They were manifestly scared, scared sick."

Mr Vulliamy said he could not forget how one man had told him: "I do not want to tell any lies but I cannot tell the truth."

Others, he said, remained silent but communicated with their eyes. "There is something inhuman about some body staring at you in that way, saying: Look at me and try and work out for yourself what I'm trying to say."

The journalists were denied access to the prisoners' sleeping quarters and were driven instead to Trnopolje.

The Guardian's report and ITN's pictures provoked an international outcry and led the Bosnian Serbs to close the camps almost immediately.

Mr Tadic, who denies all charges, showed no emotion as he watched the disturbing images on a video monitor.

Dressed smartly in a suit and tie, and flanked by two guards, he seemed relaxed as he took notes during Mr Vulliamy's testimony.

His trial enters its sixth week next week, when the first eyewitnesses are due to appear.

Mr Tadic, a former bar-owner and karate teacher, is accused of murdering, raping and torturing Muslims after the Bosnian Serbs seized power in the Prijedor area of north-west Bosnia in 1992.

Created by the United Nations Security Council in May 1993, the criminal tribunal for former Yugoslavia is the first international body for the prosecution of war crimes since the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials held after the second world war.

To date, the Hague tribunal has indicted 58 suspects — 46 Serbs, nine Croats and three Muslims — six of whom are being held at the tribunal's detention centre.

Russian election candidate bombed

David Hearst in Moscow

RUSSIA'S election season claimed its first victim yesterday, when Valery Shantsyev, the running mate of Moscow's mayor Yuri Luzhkov, was severely injured in a bomb attack outside his home in central Moscow.

The attack on Mr Shantsyev, a powerful figure in the Moscow local government, was seen as an attempt to prevent Mr Luzhkov's re-election as mayor, in a vote a week tomorrow the same day as the presidential election.

Under election rules, Mr Luzhkov, the clear front runner, could be forced from the race if his running mate dies.

Mr Shantsyev, aged 49, was admitted to hospital with third degree burns and shrapnel injuries. His condition was serious but not life-threatening. Vasily Kuptsov, the Moscow chief of police, said a bodyguard and a passer-by were also slightly injured.

Mr Kuptsov said the bomb planted outside Mr Shant-

syev's home was radio-controlled. "I think it was a terrorist act deliberately aimed at this person and no one else. This could not simply be a contract killing of a businessman because Valery Pavlinovich [Shantsyev] was not involved in any kind of business, as everyone knew."

The attack has put Moscow's already jittery political establishment further on edge, because the municipal and national elections are so closely linked.

Thousands of troops have already been drafted into Moscow at the present of fear of an attack by Chechen separatists. The heightened security may also increase the tension in the run-up to polling day, when thousands of communist supporters are expected to arrive at Russia's 30,000 polling stations in response to a call by the communist presidential candidate, Gennady Zyuganov, to try to prevent election fraud.

Speculation on the motive for the attack on Mr Shantsyev increased with the knowledge that he has important contacts with the Com-

munist Party. He calls himself a "supporter of the communist idea".

Mr Luzhkov, who is backed by Russia's richest businessmen and has established a rival power base to the Kremlin, last year made his peace with Mr Yeltsin after a series of political standoffs with the former privatisation chief, Anatoly Chubais.

Today the ambitious Mr Luzhkov appears on large election posters shaking hands with the president, and has accompanied Mr Yeltsin on his provincial tours. The aim of these visits is to make Moscow's mayor a nationally known figure. He is tipped as a future prime minister.

Meanwhile, tension rose in Chechnya last night after reports that 50 rebel fighters had re-entered the town of Shali. Three days of talks with representatives from Moscow broke up yesterday with no agreement on the issue of prisoner exchange.

Both sides expressed pessimism about the ceasefire deal signed in Moscow 10 days ago.

Pilots allowed helicopter to drop, says German crash survivor

Reuter in Dortmund

THE only survivor of a German helicopter crash in which 13 people died said yesterday the pilots seemed to let the helicopter drop through the air and then laughed about it.

The air force helicopter, giving a ride to young people attending a European youth festival in Dortmund, crashed in woodland south of the city on Thursday in one of Germany's worst military accidents.

The state prosecutor, Karl Dieter Staat, said the survivor — named by newspapers as Sven Bolliger, aged 25 — claimed the pilots "pulled the helicopter upwards and then just let it drop".

The pilots had laughed and passengers had applauded the manoeuvre. It happened a second time, and the helicop-

ter hit treetops and crashed, the survivor said.

Mr Staat said he was not ruling out pilot error, but was also looking at the possibility of a technical failure.

The defence ministry, investigating independently, cautioned against treating the manoeuvres as risk-taking. A spokesman said a helicopter levelling out after a climb could give passengers the impression they were falling, and that the pilots, aged 38 and 33, might have been attempting an emergency landing.

Mr Bolliger was pulled out of the wreckage by people who stopped on an adjacent motorway. Other passengers also appeared to be alive, but an explosion stopped more rescues.

The dead included the two crew, a military nurse, five members of television teams and six young people.

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PICTURES

Crime tide
to overwhelm
South Africa

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June 15 1996

Crime tide 'rising to overwhelm South Africa'

David Beresford in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa's chief of police warned yesterday that crime in the country was in danger of spinning out of control.

Commissioner George Fivaz warned of the crisis in a briefing to local newspaper editors, and complained of shortages of staff and resources.

His warning coincided with a report by a leading South African bank, Nedcor, that crime was costing more than \$6 billion a year — considerably more than is entering the country through foreign investment. The study showed that 80 per cent of households had fallen victim to crime in a two-year period.

Mr Fivaz said one of the police's biggest problems was a shortage of qualified personnel, and he estimated that 75 per cent of detectives were not properly trained.

This helped explain another extraordinary statistic released by police last week — that they have 18,000 unsolved murders on their books.

A lack of training is not the force's only problem. Earlier this week it was disclosed that an internal anti-corruption unit was receiving two complaints of criminal activity by police officers a day.

A funeral service in Johannesburg this week gave poignant testimony to the crime plague. More than 40 Springboks and provincial rugby players formed a guard of honour for two coffins con-

taining the remains of Transvaal player Pietman Van Rensburg and his father, Piet, a schools rugby coach. They had been shot dead by robbers for \$45.

The prison service also has problems dealing with criminals. Before a demonstration by warders this week over pay, their union appealed to prisoners not to use the opportunity to escape. Last year there were about 100 break-outs a month — compared with 53 in Britain over the whole year.

Crime is routinely, and to some extent justly, blamed on social problems in the townships. But the country's whites have been disabused of any belief that criminal behaviour is restricted to blacks by two horrendous crimes over the past week.

In one a white youth giving a teenage couple a lift in his car produced a pistol, made them strip and ordered them to have sex. When the boy, aged 15, refused he was shot dead and the gunman raped the girl, aged 13, twice. In the other case, two young white men and a woman killed and cut up a Dutch immigrant — carting the dismembered pieces around in a suitcase — in an attempt to claim his \$450 pension.

The health minister, Nicholas Zuma, is refusing to resign despite a public investigator's report criticising a funding scandal in her department. About \$2 million was spent on an AIDS-awareness play — much of it donations from the European Union, which is demanding the money's return.



Smoking gunman... Rambo Farley, a young Liberian fighter with Roosevelt Johnson's Ulimo-J faction, lights a cigarette on Monrovia's front line. PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID GUTTENFELDER

Damascus claims backing against Netanyahu

Fearful Syrians court Arab chiefs

David Hirst in Beirut

PRESIDENT Hafez al-Assad of Syria, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia met in Damascus yesterday in the third Arab summit since last week's Israeli elections brought the right to power.

By coming to Damascus, Syrian officials said, the two pro-United States Arab leaders were putting their weight behind Syria's position on the peace process, and its insistence on preserving the land-for-peace formula that Israel's prime minister-elect, Binyamin Netanyahu, has rejected.

Syria and Egypt say this tripartite meeting should pave the way for a larger Arab summit.

The Syrian press warned Mr Netanyahu yesterday that if he persisted in his refusal to give up the Golan Heights, Syria "could have nothing to do with such a peace". It warned the Arabs that, while "no magic wand could bring Arab leaders together in a situation as dire as this", those "with a sense of national responsibility" must work to "save the Arab nation from perdition".

The alarmist tone stems not only from the shock of Israel's

electoral upheaval, but from an array of dangers to which Syria now feels itself exposed. These hail from various sources — Israel, Turkey, Jordan, the US. But Syrians perceive them as linked, part of an attempt to make Damascus submit to US-Israeli designs for the region, or face a mounting campaign of pressure and harassment.

The latest in what Syria regards as an ominous series of developments came this week, when the US state department confirmed reports of several recent non-accidental explosions in Syria.

Syria's ambassador to Washington expressed "astonishment" at such allegations about a country "known for security and stability". He said it smacked of attempts to discredit Syria at a time when it sought to mobilise Arab support against the new Israeli government and Turkish aggression.

In the same category, he said, was a US intelligence report that Syria was building a secret "poison gas factory" near Aleppo. The report — revealed in Germany's Stern magazine this week — said US officials had passed satellite photographs of the plant to German officials, who were checking if Germans were involved.

reported recent bomb blasts, speculating that Turkish agents were behind them, including one that reportedly blew up the Damascus flat of Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) guerrillas. Turkey — angered by, among other things, Syria's support of the PKK — recently signed a military co-operation agreement with Israel, to which Syria objected vehemently.

Now, Arab reports say, co-operation is expanding to include "counter-terrorism". They will help each other combat Syrian-supported "terror attacks from across their borders" — the PKK in Turkey's case, the Hizbullah in Israel's.

The Saudi newspaper al-Hayat also reported from Damascus this week that Turkish troops had mounted cross-border "skirmishes and harassing operations" from Hatay province, to which Syria lays claim.

Meanwhile, Syrian-Jordanian relations are worsening. King Hussein this week implicitly accused Damascus of sponsoring terrorism inside his country. Earlier, Jordanian security services said they had arrested several terrorist suspects, mainly from Syria, who had planned about 40 attacks on Jordanian officials and Israeli tourists.

News in brief

Big French union boosts welfare reforms

FRANCE'S welfare reform plans, which sparked big public sector strikes last year, have gained fresh impetus after a leading union federation pledged to take over a large slice of the welfare system and help push change through.

The current manager of the key CNAM health insurance fund, the Force Ouvrière (FO), has been a thorn in the centre-right government's

side, spearheading crippling stoppages to block its plans late last year.

The pro-Socialist CFDT, France's biggest union federation, yesterday promised to back reforms aimed at reining in a spiralling deficit. If it succeeded in wresting control of the fund — a source of power, patronage and money.

The CNAM has a vast annual budget of 510 billion francs (154 billion, equiva-

lent to a third of central government budget spending.

Meanwhile, the national assembly yesterday approved a draft six-year defence budget bill, to accompany the most sweeping reform of the French armed forces since the second world war.

The budget, allowing \$23 billion a year defence spending in 1997-2002, slices \$2.5 billion a year off the original budget. — Reuter.

Japan to create replica Stratford

STRATFORD-ON-AVON, the birthplace of William Shakespeare, is to be recreated as "Stratford-on-Pacific" in a Japanese seaside town.

Japanese local authorities have commissioned the British construction company Border Oak to build a Shakespeare visitors' centre in the tourist town of Maruyama, on the eastern coast of Japan, the company said yesterday.

The Shakespeare Country Park, costing \$3.5 million, will include replicas of the houses where Shakespeare was born and died, the home of his mother Mary Arden, and a theatre where the bard's plays will be performed.

Half-timbered, oak-framed buildings will recreate the atmosphere of "Ye Olde England". There will also be a tea room and an Elizabethan landscaped garden. — Reuter.

Burmese regime imposes tough law against dissent

BURMA'S military government yesterday issued a law banning all acts which disturb public order, making violators subject to up to 20 years imprisonment.

The order, announced on state radio and television, also made unauthorised writing of a state constitution an offence subject to the same punishment.

The move was a clear response to efforts by the country's pro-democracy

movement to challenge the military's authority.

The main opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, had earlier yesterday announced plans to hold her weekly meeting with supporters this weekend in defiance of a prohibition by the military regime.

Ms Suu Kyi left a message for reporters telephoning her home which said: "I will proceed with the Saturday lecture as usual." — AP.

Housing agreed as 'human right'

THE United States and developing countries, backed by Europe, agreed yesterday on the issue of housing as a human right, at the United Nations Habitat II cities summit in Istanbul.

The agreed text says there should be 14 "concrete actions that governments should take in pursuit of real-

ising adequate housing for all", the US delegation said.

The draft text falls short of obliging governments to provide the poor with housing — an issue the US had shied away from, for fear of facing legal action by homeless people.

Martin Woolcott, page 14

UN on alert for refugee ship

United Nations aid workers were on alert at ports along the West African coast yesterday for a Russian boat said to be crammed with around 450 refugees from Liberia.

It left Monrovia 10 days ago and may be bound for Nigeria after being turned away by Ghana and Togo. — AP.

A bridge too far

The people of Geneva are set to reject plans for a new bridge or tunnel crossing one end of its picturesque lake in a referendum this week. Opponents cite environmental reasons. — Reuter.

Appeal answered

South Korea and Japan yesterday signalled that they would join the United States in responding to a UN appeal for emergency food aid for North Korea. — Reuter.

Tamil ambush

Tamil guerrillas ambushed a police patrol near the town of

Aid suspended

Aid agencies in Burundi yesterday began a one-week suspension of all but the most urgent work in protest at the killing of three Swiss aid workers. Hutu rebels have accused Tutsi militiamen of the killings. — Reuter.

Students clash

Over 2,000 Zambian students fought first with each other and then with police in Lusaka yesterday over the barring of the former president, Kenneth Kaunda, from running in elections. — Reuter.

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Cricket

England v India: First Test, second day

Hussain solves problem No. 3

Mike Selvey at Edgbaston

QUITE bow the No. 3 position became England's equivalent of a suspect package in a mystery. As with the distant relative who turns up uninvited at a family wedding, no one has seemed to want it. Until yesterday that is, when Nasser Hussain, the man who Keith Fletcher thought was named after Dennis the Menace's dog and who as a young international pup frequently exhibited a similarly temperamental nature, made it his own, certainly for the foreseeable future, with a century of courage, patience and skill.

Hussain, the eighth incumbent at first wicket down in the past 14 matches, arrived at the crease to face the third ball of the day, without a torrid start against some inspired pace bowling from Javagal Srinath, and was finally out for 128, hooking the same bowler to long leg five

When, shortly before tea, Venkatesh Prasad removed Jack Russell, Chris Lewis and Dominic Cork in the space of eight balls, England were 215 for eight, only one run ahead, and the odds had swung towards India. But so efficiently did Hussain nurse Min Patel and Alan Mullally, and so determinedly did this pair of debutants support him, that the last two wickets added 98 runs as he doubled his score.

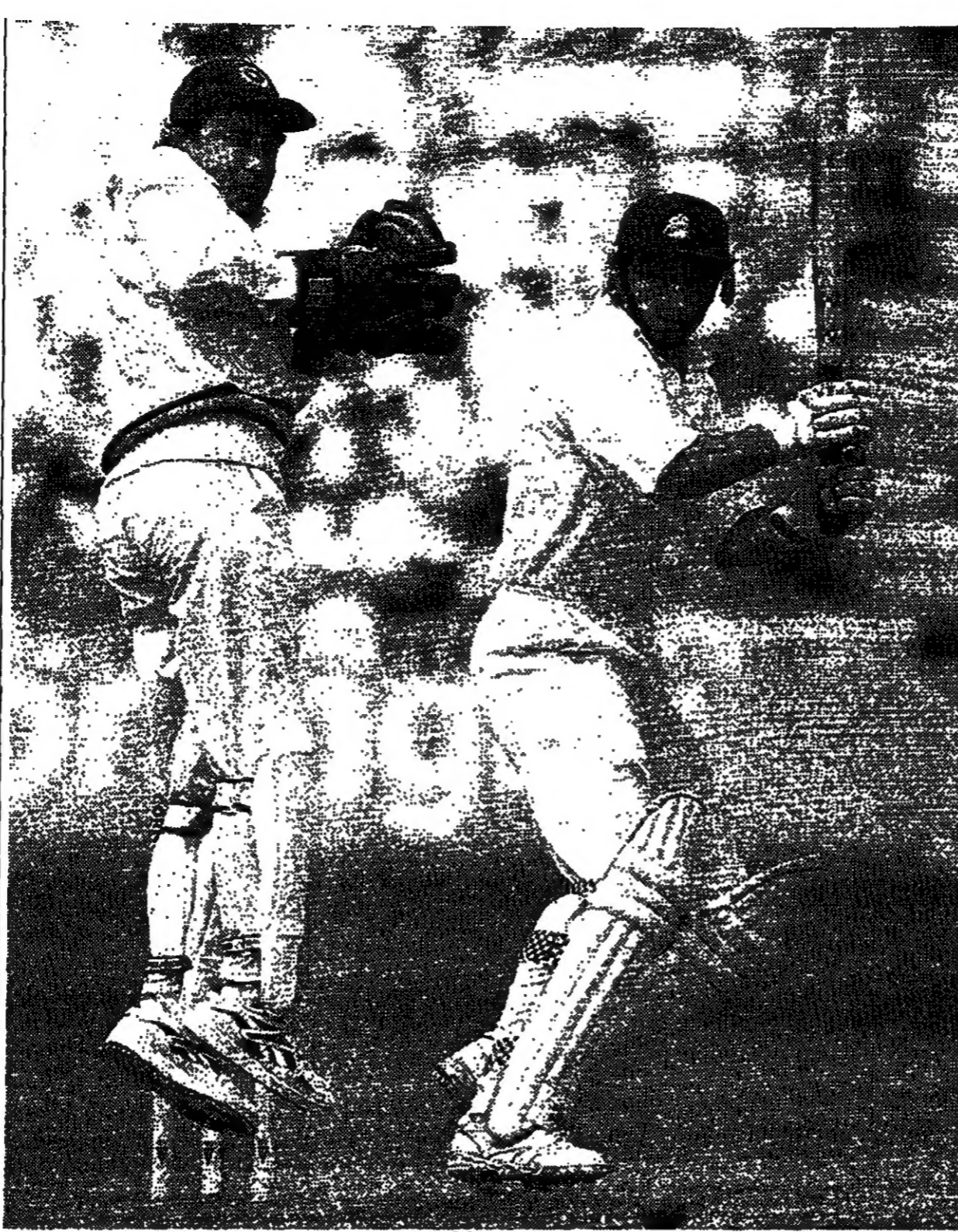
On a pitch that perhaps helped the bowlers more than on the first day — certainly in the morning, when the ball was hard and the surface clammy after a clear dewy night — 313, a lead of 99, was a priceless score.

India, left 17 difficult overs to bat in the evening and effectively a batsman short because of Manjrekar's ankle injury, were grateful that the light closed in after two overs. The final lap of Hussain's journey to his maiden Test century, and the first by an England No. 3 since Mike Gatting's emotional 117 at Adelaide two winters and 14 Tests ago, was pure theatre: an examination of nerve for batsmen and crowd.

The match-wicket partnership had already added 49 in just under an hour when Patel shuffled back to Kumble and was low. Hussain needed seven more runs but first Mullally had to survive two deliveries. Hussain then swivelled to pull Srinath to the fine-leg boundary before taking a single.

Again, for three balls, Mullally kept his cool. Kumble shifted the fielder to short leg. Hussain flicked to fine leg and took the single and prayed that Mullally could last just one more ball. He did, and after two more deliveries from Srinath he angled the next to third man (he could play that shot in his dreams) and trotted through in triumph, arms aloft. The relief, pleasure and pride on his face were a joy to see.

If the last session of the day belonged almost exclusively to England, those either side of lunch had most definitely gone India's way. After such a positive start to the innings on Thursday evening the day began badly when Nick Knight edged Srinath's second ball low to Mongia without adding to his overnight score, and Atherton, after an uncomfortable 45 minutes in which he was hit on the hand and added only two runs, followed when



Cut and run... with Mongia looking for a catch, Hussain strokes his way to a maiden Test century yesterday TOM JENKINS

he edged Mhambrey's second slip. Thorpe came in, made a breezy 21 and then missed Srinath's inswinging round the wicket, then Hick was

sucked in, hooking Prasad high to the finer of two men placed there for precisely that possibility. By this time Hussain had survived some exceptional bowling from Srinath, desper-

ately unlucky first thing, and with lunch gone and the pitch easing a little was beginning to expand his game, reaching 43. But it had been a battle. Ronnie Irani, though, emerged to play a pivotal un-

complicated knock, hitting 34 in as many balls, 28 of them in thumping boundaries, and crucially allowing Hussain time out, before Srinath's pace and unexpected bounce did for him.

Table with 2 columns: Player Name and Score. Includes India's first innings and England's batting order.

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hours and 11 minutes later. He had hit 19 fours, most of them with some of the finest driving seen by an England batsman in years. Srinath will claim to his dying day that Hussain should have been given out by Farrell Hair, caught at the wicket for 14 down the leg side, and that at least partial justice had been done. That will be small compensation, however, for it was an effort that has swung the first Test emphatically towards England after they had played themselves into trouble.

Somerset v Warwickshire

Lee's run-out lightning strikes twice

David Foot at Taunton

MARCUS TRESCOTHICK and Shane Lee fielded side by side in the slips yesterday afternoon. They had much to talk about. It involved a variation of Sod's Law at the crease. Trescothick, the sturdy left-hander paying his way back into the firm which made him look one of our best young batsmen, had earlier in the day been run out by Lee.

Man. The dismissals were cruelly identical. This talented pair had added 97 for the fifth wicket in a manner that would have been immensely pleasurable to the Somerset faithful. Then Lee executed another stylish straight drive, deflected by the bowler, Welch on to the stumps with Trescothick backing up.

Essex v Lancashire

Lloyd streams his way to a first double century

Andy Wilson at Chelmsford

WHAT David Lloyd would have given to join his former Lancashire opening partner Barry Wood here yesterday. Not a bad day at Edgbaston, but whereas Wood senior saw his son Nathan fail on his first-Test debut, Lloyd's lead Graham hit a spectacular double century, the first of his career.

Lloyd's innings was the most remarkable as Lancashire had been 55 for three at one stage, still 305 away from avoiding the follow-on, and he had been streaming with hay fever all morning. Despite having only two previous championship centuries to his name, he set the tone when getting off the mark by taking a four and two sixes off an over from Peter Such. By the end of the day he had belted 12 sixes, a Lancashire record. The dozen included two long balls, one in a garden and the other at the bottom of the River Can.

Surrey v Warwickshire

Michael Vaughan makes his debut

Michael Vaughan at Edgbaston

Michael Vaughan made his debut in the first Test yesterday, hitting 91 runs in his first innings. He was supported by Ian Salisbury, who took 157 runs in the first innings.

Surrey sick of Vaughan

Michael Vaughan makes his debut

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Breath of fresh air who put wind up the Indians

David Hopps finds a light at the end of the tunnel for a former problem child

THE are those who want to play for England and those who crave it every day of their lives. Nasser Hussain fits into the second category, which made his maiden Test hundred after an absence of nearly three years all the more gratifying.

At times it has been a turbulent journey of dark moods — one team-mate once dubbed Hussain and Mark Ramprakash "the tantrum twins" — but it is precisely such passionate qualities that now promise to serve England nobly.

"David Lloyd kept saying to me at Edgbaston, 'Keep breathing', Hussain joked after an innings that deserves to bring England victory. "I didn't know if I was trying to have a baby or get a Test hundred."

It was an appropriate line, Hussain controlled his inclinations to match him, and instead soft-pedalled for a while, collecting singles while he allowed himself time to reassess. Later, when forced to seek control, he did.

Since England's glorious period of batsmanship in the mid-1980s, the Australian received a trouncing, only Athey, Stewart, Hick, Gatting and Gower have scored a century at No. 3. If Hussain's installation seemed a case of giving a problem child, he immediately came up with a solution.

Hussain is a dedicated individual and Michael Atherton, for one, will appreciate his intelligence, his nous and his bloody-minded desire. Yesterday, after his 128, much of England felt the same way.

alienated existence on the county circuit. Instead his defiance saw him through. There could have been a more flamboyant shot to bring up his 100th run than the deflection to third man of Javagal Srinath, but there was no more option.

Every stage of Hussain's longed-for century yesterday came not just with talent but with a combative intelligence. Naturally adventurous, he still recognised when the situation called for something more discriminating.

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Championship: Leicestershire v Kent

Ben makes it big

Paul Weaver at Leicester

THE pitch here wears a grinning death mask. It produced good cricket for two testing days but it died yesterday, confounding everyone, and the match suddenly looked very tired.

A surface that, according to some Kent players on Wednesday, would not last three days now looks good for a week. The captains will have to get their heads together this morning if a result is to be dragged from it.

Instead they batted for a further 70 minutes and added only 27 runs before Matthew Fleming took the final two wickets in four balls.

Ben Smith went on to make a career-best 174 not out. It took this normally unflinching player eight hours 40 minutes. Some have questioned his ability, coming in first wicket down, to play a long innings. There can be no such doubts now.

Kent got rid of Parsons quickly enough but then Smith and Pierson added 89 for the ninth wicket. The Kent innings was a little different. Fleming has been only a mixed success opening in the championship in place of Mark Benson this season, with 173 runs in eight innings and only one fifty.

Here, with Kent badly in need of quick runs, he reached his fifty with his second successive six off Brimston and when he reached his hundred from 128 deliveries it was 103 fewer than his first. He was well supported by Fulton, who is 62 not out, but the pitch is laughing at everyone.

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Golf

Spooky but satisfying for Oldcorn

David Davies at Forest of Arden

ANDREW OLD CORN, a Bolton-born golfer with a Scottish accent, remains the leader of an English Open sponsored by a car-rental company with a name that commemorates either a Mexican slaughter of some Texans or the subsequent act of revenge.

Oldcorn topped a leaderboard that reflected the cultural diversity of the tournament, adding a 71 to his first-round 65 to be seven under par on 137 and the leader by one shot from Denmark's Steen Timmering and Camberwell's Peter Mitchell.

Colin Montgomerie, who had not to do something like a 65, settled for a 68 which left him one under, six shots behind with 36 holes to play. Oldcorn rightly observed that anyone who makes the cut can still win this tournament, and Montgomerie certainly believes that. "I'm not out of it," he said. "Sixty-eight was worse than I'd expected and I'll have to do better obviously, but two 67s over the weekend... that'll come quite close. I want to win; I'm not here looking for a place."

Here his views deviated slightly from those of a number of writers who had taken the 14-1 each-way odds against the Scot after his opening 75.

Oldcorn, nine under at one point, felt he had missed a chance to put "some daylight" between himself and the field by missing putts of four, three and eight feet at the 8th, 7th and 6th. "Mind you," he added, "the greens

were spooky out there. By the end it was pot luck." Montgomerie had similar problems. Recounting his woes, he said: "I three-putted the 3rd, missed from eight feet at the 8th, from four feet at the 10th and 12th and from three feet at the 16th." It was at this point that he looked up, grinned and said: "Good, this isn't it?" That at least shows a level-headed temperament that could serve him well next week in the US Open.

Michael Welch, once a winner of six boys' titles in a single year, was returning to his Shropshire home on Sunday when the car-phone rang with the glad news that he was in this week's event — the 148th player out of 156.

At the moment Welch is living his golfing life on the edge and takes every chance he can get to earn prize-money. This increases the pressure on him whenever he does play, hence nine missed cuts in 11 tournaments this year.

He could have said Steve Webster, his playing partner yesterday and last year's leading amateur at the Open. Webster had nine birdies in a 68 to stand at four under, only three shots behind the leader, but was quick to dismiss suggestions that he could now begin to think about winning. "My sole ambition at the moment," he said, "is to hit the first fairway tomorrow."

Norman heads Els fan club

David Henderson in Harrison, New York

ERINIE ELS's search for his first US Tour win of the year gathered momentum yesterday when he stretched his overnight lead to five shots in the Buick Classic. He is confident of completing his 1996 breakthrough after publishing the Westchester Country Club course with six birdies — bringing his haul to 14 in two rounds — for a 66 and an 11-under-par 181.

It lifted Els clear of his fellow South African David Frost (69) and six ahead of his playing partner Greg Norman, who was an impressed spectator as he settled for a 70 after a poor performance on the slick greens.

Els has a rich pedigree on this hilly and heavily wooded course, having finished fourth alongside Nick Faldo last year and second on his only other appearance in 1987. He went on to beat Scotland's Colin Montgomerie in a play-off to win the US Open.

"I am relaxed and feel very sure of myself here," he said. "I didn't push myself and everything fell into place. Two weeks ago people were

asking what's wrong with my game. I have practised very hard and now I am getting my rewards."

It was the second occasion this year that Norman had first-hand experience of the enormous potential of Els, who partnered the Australian to a pair of 67s in the opening two rounds of the Johnnie Walker Classic in Singapore. Norman admitted: "I cannot see a weakness in Ernie's game; there is no doubt he's the best young player in the world. I might have put more pressure on him today but I have lost a lot of confidence with my putter. That's the only thing holding me back from shooting a real low score."

While Norman struggled on the greens, Els prospered with pinpoint accuracy from the tee, backed up by an assured putting stroke which yielded four birdies in the last eight holes, twice from 12 feet and twice from two yards.

Els's surge left Nick Faldo with plenty to do if he is to make an impact before going to Detroit for next week's US Open. He was among the late starters and began his second round 11 behind Els after opening with a level-par 71.

Rowing

Test of nerve for Haining

Christopher Dodd in Lucerne

ANDY SINTON and Nick Strange qualified for tomorrow's lightweight double sculls final at the Olympic qualifying regatta here yesterday. But Peter Haining, the world lightweight singles champion for the past three years, must race in a repechage today to keep his Olympic dream alive.

Only one boat from each heat made the final in yesterday's humid programme. Sinton and Strange led all the way against the French, Portuguese and Romanians. The Italians, Marco Audisio and Michelangelo Crispì, won the other heat.

In the open single sculls Haining was beaten by the Dutchman, Marlin Vervoorn, who led all the way to qualify. Norway's Frederik Bekken cruised to victory in the other heat against opposition that Haining should be able to trounce in the repechage.

Britain's women's eight, who race in a final tomorrow without needing heats, had a bonus when the Russians were excluded because their Olympic committee refused to endorse their place for the Games in the event of their qualifying. Four of the five Russian crews were scratched when only the men's quadruple sculling crew were endorsed.

Cycling

Boardman is back in frame

Kenny Pryde

CHRIS BOARDMAN resurrected his hopes for a good Tour de France with a fine third place in the fifth stage of the Dauphiné Libéré yesterday.

Almost inevitably the 42-kilometre time-trial was won by Miguel Indurain, 28 seconds ahead of the Swiss Tony Rominger and 40 in front of Boardman, although the Spaniard failed to take the overall race lead from Laurent Jalabert, who leads him by three seconds.

But for all the predictability of the result there have been hints of a more interesting Tour de France than in recent years. In Thursday's mountain stage Jalabert and Richard Virenque dropped Indurain, taking a minute out of his overall lead, on the 10-mile climb to the finish at the summit of Mont Ventoux, which Boardman, who described his own Mont Ventoux experience as "a serious setback", was happier yesterday. "I'm surprised," said the Olympic pursuit champion, who now lies in overall eighth place, 5min 56sec back. "I expected to get a kicking when I was warming up. Now, looking at the result, I wish I had tried a bit harder. There's still something not right with me, though."



Stretching out... but Michael Stich was hardly extended in his semi-final win over Marc Rosset at Roland Garros yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: PHILIPPE WOJAZER

Russian cuts down drained Sampras

Stephen Bierley in Paris

PETE SAMPRAS, visibly drained of energy and emotion, slipped quietly and sadly out of the French Open on a blazing afternoon yesterday, beaten forlornly in straight sets by Yevgeny Kafelnikov in their semi-final.

The No. 1 seed was an obscure shadow of his normal self, three previous five-set matches having taken a drastic toll. Many had suspected it was inevitable, sooner or later, that he would run out of gas.

"He was not, for sure, the same Pete as we are used to seeing," said the 23-year-old Russian, who by beating the American 7-6, 6-0, 6-2 reached his first Grand

Slam final. His elation was understandably restrained. "After the first set the balloon popped," said Sampras. "I had nothing in the second set and although I picked up a bit in the third I was running on fumes." The tank was finally dry and he was lost in France.

Sampras had arrived in Paris ill-prepared for play. He should have competed in the Italian Open but pulled out because of the death of his friend and coach Tim Gullikson. Nevertheless he played here with tremendous guts having been allotted an exceptionally tough draw, and went further than ever before.

In the second round he beat the twice French Open champion Sergi Bruguera of Spain and last fellow American Jim Courier, also

a double champion here. Sampras, who said afterwards that his back was still giving him trouble, has pulled out of next week's Queen's tournament. He will fly home to Tampa today and return for Wimbledon in just over two weeks.

The back may be twingeing but the real weakness is in his mind. The death of Gullikson clearly affected him immensely and lastingly. Some believed destiny might lift Sampras to his first French title, but it was not to be.

Kafelnikov, who lost a classic five-set match to Sampras in the Australian Open in 1994, realised something was wrong after taking the first set. "Before that I was too uptight to notice anything," he said,

"but then I thought maybe he had some back trouble." This first set was crucial. Sampras led 4-2 in the tie-break but then lost five successive points. Had he taken the set, sheer adrenaline might have surged him to victory. Yet even this is doubtful.

Statistical freaks in the French met office claimed yesterday was the hottest June 7 since the Crimean War; if Kafelnikov had been firing cannon rather than tennis balls at him, Sampras could not have been more troubled.

Kafelnikov had lost to Thomas Muster, the eventual winner, in last year's semi-finals here. "That time I gave myself zero chance; this time I thought I had a small chance." He was reckoning on a fully

fit, fully focused Sampras; the American was neither. Kafelnikov becomes the first male Russian to reach a Grand Slam final. Alex Metreveli was the beaten Wimbledon finalist in 1973 but he was a Georgian.

In tomorrow's final Kafelnikov will play Germany's Michael Stich, who defeated Switzerland's Marc Rosset 6-3, 6-4, 6-2. Stich was totally dominant. It was a match of few errors but numerous Stich winners.

Kafelnikov and Stich have played nine times before, with the Russian 6-3 up. However, they have met only once in a Grand Slam tournament, the 1994 US Open, when Stich swept past in straight sets.

"I think everything will depend on the beginning of the match and how I handle

it," said Kafelnikov. He will get a taste of the tension today when, with the Czech Daniel Vacek, he plays in the doubles final.

Mark Petchey was the sole British man to survive the quarter-finals at Beckenham, beating the Bahamian Roger Smith 6-4, 6-3. But Clare Wood can today become the first British woman to triumph on the Kent grass since 1967, having ousted the German top seed Christina Singer 4-6, 6-2, 6-4 to set up a final with the No. 6 seed Maria Venturi of Venezuela.

The former Wimbledon champion Pat Cash, back after three injury-racked years, reached the Writtle grass tournament semi-finals with a 6-3, 6-2 win over the American doubles specialist Murphy Jensen.

Chess

The Kamskys whinge but Karpov has a win

Leonard Barden

THE world championship match between Anatoly Karpov of Russia and his Soviet-born American challenger Gata Kamsky began in a lively style with a 67-move win by the champion and a storm of protests from Kamsky's difficult father Rustam about the match rules.

After only one of the scheduled 20 games both players have already threatened to walk out. Trouble started when the Kamskys wanted up to seven hours' play a day. Karpov, at 45 nearly twice his opponent's age and noted for suspect stamina in previous marathon matches, insisted on six hours, the rule in force when the three-year championship cycle began.

They were still arguing when Karpov took the white pieces and opened 1 d4, but officials of the International Chess Federation (Fide) eventually upheld Karpov's case and the champion sealed his 57th move (65d) after six hours. By then he had a won position, and yesterday Kamsky resigned by telephone without resuming play.

Earlier Kamsky's father threatened to pull Gata out of the match if Yury Zhuravnikov, the Fide president and ruler of the Kalmykian republic where this match is being played, insisted on \$0.5 million of the nominal \$2 million prize-fund going to the "Kalmyk Children's Fund" in addition to Fide's cut of \$0.4 million. When Zhuravnikov said he would replace Kamsky by another challenger, Rustam caved in.

Karpov proved impervious to the squabbling and showed his best form. He refuted Kamsky's overambitious 12th move and steered the game into type of static, queenless position where he has few peers. He niggled away at Kamsky's weak pawns and emerged with winning passed pawn on the kingside.

White Moves: 1. d4 Nf3 2. c4 e5 3. Nc3 d5 4. Nf3 Bg7 5. Qd2 6. Qd3 7. e4 Nf6 8. Bg5 Bg7 9. Bc3 Bc6 10. Bb5 d4 11. Bc4 e4 12. Bc3 Nf6 13. Qd2 Nc6 14. Qd3 Nf6 15. Qd2 Nc6 16. Qd3 Nf6 17. Qd2 Nc6 18. Qd3 Nf6 19. Qd2 Nc6 20. Qd3 Nf6 21. Qd2 Nc6 22. Qd3 Nf6 23. Qd2 Nc6 24. Qd3 Nf6 25. Qd2 Nc6 26. Qd3 Nf6 27. Qd2 Nc6 28. Qd3 Nf6 29. Qd2 Nc6 30. Qd3 Nf6 31. Qd2 Nc6 32. Qd3 Nf6 33. Qd2 Nc6 34. Qd3 Nf6 35. Qd2 Nc6 36. Qd3 Nf6 37. Qd2 Nc6 38. Qd3 Nf6 39. Qd2 Nc6 40. Qd3 Nf6 41. Qd2 Nc6 42. Qd3 Nf6 43. Qd2 Nc6 44. Qd3 Nf6 45. Qd2 Nc6 46. Qd3 Nf6 47. Qd2 Nc6 48. Qd3 Nf6 49. Qd2 Nc6 50. Qd3 Nf6 51. Qd2 Nc6 52. Qd3 Nf6 53. Qd2 Nc6 54. Qd3 Nf6 55. Qd2 Nc6 56. Qd3 Nf6 57. Qd2 Nc6 58. Qd3 Nf6 59. Qd2 Nc6 60. Qd3 Nf6 61. Qd2 Nc6 62. Qd3 Nf6 63. Qd2 Nc6 64. Qd3 Nf6 65. Qd2 Nc6 66. Qd3 Nf6 67. Qd2 Nc6 68. Qd3 Nf6 69. Qd2 Nc6 70. Qd3 Nf6 71. Qd2 Nc6 72. Qd3 Nf6 73. Qd2 Nc6 74. Qd3 Nf6 75. Qd2 Nc6 76. Qd3 Nf6 77. Qd2 Nc6 78. Qd3 Nf6 79. Qd2 Nc6 80. Qd3 Nf6 81. Qd2 Nc6 82. Qd3 Nf6 83. Qd2 Nc6 84. 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DERBY DAY

Dushyantor has the classic stamp

EXPERIENCE, it is said, is the best teacher. When it comes to the Derby there are three trainers represented at Epsom today who have certainly learnt a thing or two about what it takes to win British Flat racing's most coveted prize.

'Over this extra two furlongs, he is confidently expected to beat Glory Of Dancer this time.'

this far. The slowest of learners this Sadler's Wells colt made hard work of winning his only race last year and has suffered problems with cracks to his feet which necessitated the insertion of screws in three of his hooves.

part of the process begun in the Dante Stakes at York — traditionally one of the best Derby trials. But what is usually an informative race was marred by a slow gallop, and to matters worse for Dushyantor he was given a poor ride, held up well off the pace before being asked to quicken in a sprint to the line.

That he was able to get within half a length of the more experienced winner, Glory Of Dancer, speaks volumes for Dushyantor's ability. Like Commander In Chief, he is improving with each race and, over this extra two furlongs, is confidently expected to beat Glory Of Dancer this time.

Jack Jennings, allowed to dictate a modest gallop, was almost certainly flattered to finish third in the Dante, two places ahead of Double Leaf, with Storm Trooper sixth.

Storm Trooper is an interesting second string for Cecil, having made short work of St Mawes and Jack Jennings over nine furlongs at Newmarket in April. With hindsight, it was a mistake to run him in the 2,000 Guineas.

St Mawes, though, should be a different proposition over this distance. Whereas Storm Trooper was trained to the max at Newmarket, John Dunlop's colt is only now starting to find his feet.

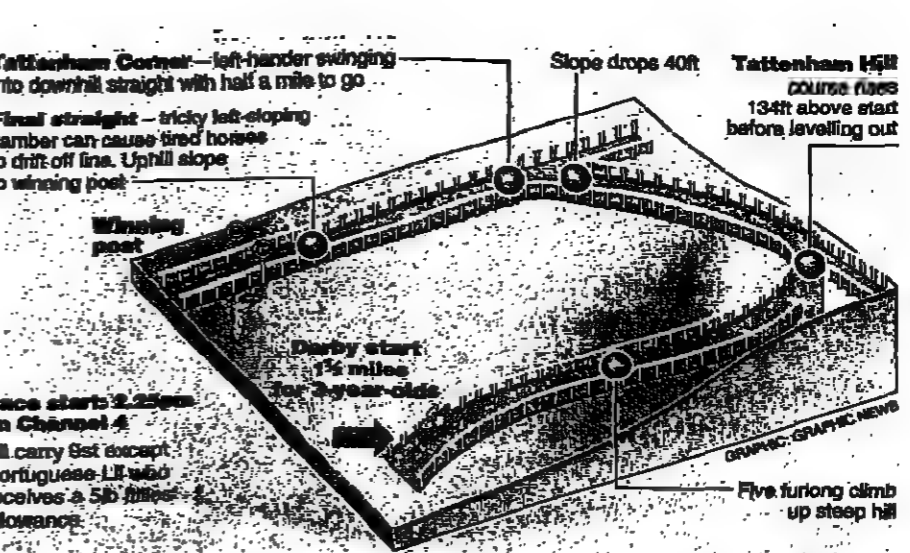
Dunlop, trainer of Derby winners Shirley Heights and Erhaab, reckons he has St Mawes in better shape now than at any stage this season.

Things did not go right for St Mawes at Goodwood last time, when he stayed on to take third place behind Don Micheletto — subsequently fourth in the French Derby. He may not be quick enough to win today, but is sure to be going on at the finish.

Acharne 26 Days since latest outing. No. 5. Form: 425-152. Trainer: C. Brittain. Jockey: W. O'Connor. Owner: P. J. Nicholls. Easy winner of a handicap race at Doncaster in March 1995, he has been placed when last seen in the 2,000 Guineas at Newmarket in April.

Alhaarth 35 No. 2. Form: 1111-24. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Top two-year-old of 1995 when unbeaten in five races. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Busy Flight 41 No. 3. Form: 022-6. Trainer: S. Hills. Jockey: C. Appleman. Owner: Mrs. S. Wingfield-Digby. Best effort when runner-up to Bartleywood Ridge in Horris Hill Stakes at Newbury last autumn. Ten-length behind Glory Of Dancer when they were second and sixth to Spartan in British Classic Trial at Sandown.



Chief Contender 23 No. 6. Form: 212-1. Trainer: P. J. Nicholls. Jockey: P. J. Nicholls. Owner: P. J. Nicholls. One of the best horses to have been trained by Nicholls, he has been placed when last seen in the 2,000 Guineas at Newmarket in April.

Classic Eagle 32 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Clever Cliche 36 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Double Leaf 24 No. 2. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Dushyantor 24 No. 2. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Even Top 35 No. 9. Form: 51212-4. Trainer: M. Tompkins. Jockey: F. Robinson. Owner: Mr. B. Schmidt-Bogner. Not classically bred but an intense Derby picture when winning Mark Of Esteem to a short head in the 2,000 Guineas at Newmarket. Looks certain to get the extra half-mile but not sure to act on this undulating track.

Glory Of Dancer 22 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Jack Jennings 24 No. 3. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Mystic Knight 28 No. 2. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Prince Of My Heart 32 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Shaamit 217 No. 4. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Shantou 11 No. 16. Form: 1-11. Trainer: J. Gosden. Jockey: L. Dettori. Owner: Sheikh Mohammed. Trainer sent out Tamara and Presenting last year to finish second and third to Lammasra, who was ridden by Dettori. Shantou won over 10 furlongs at Sandown but is on duty because owner's higher regarded colts are injured.

Spartan Heartbeat 16 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

St Mawes 18 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Storm Trooper 24 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Tasdid 28 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Zaforum 28 No. 1. Form: 1-11. Trainer: W. H. Evans. Jockey: W. Cannon. Owner: Mrs. A. J. Nicholson. Disappointing fourth, beaten six lengths, in 2,000 Guineas but was not self-drawn. Newmarket recent gallops suggest he has regained some of his old sparkle.

Portuguese Lil 18 No. 21. Form: 505-05. Trainer: D. Nicholls. Jockey: Alex Greaves. Owner: Mr. D. Widdie. History is made here with Alex Greaves being the first woman to ride in the race, but it is expected a surprise result. The filly, which is trained by Nicholls, is a very promising maiden and is very odds of 100-1 look rather scary.

200-1 Tasdid, 200-1 Classic Eagle, 200-1 Spartan Heart Beat, 1000-1 Portuguese Lil. GRAPHIC: STEVE VILLIERS

Bookies go 1,000-1 against Ms Greaves and her filly

ALEX GREAVES becomes the first woman in the 217-year history of the Derby to ride in the premier classic when she partners Portuguese Lil, writes Chris Hawkins. The enormity of her task is summed up by the bookies' odds of 1,000-1, although Portuguese Lil, a filly, has attracted interest, with Ladbrokes taking a 2400 bet on her.

Although she is breaking new ground at Epsom, 26-year-old Alex has plenty of experience and has ridden 168 winners. She was the first woman to win the highly competitive Lincoln Handicap and the first to ride a four-timer. This pioneering streak apparently runs in her family as her mother, Val, was the first woman rider to win against professionals under National Hunt rules.

Today's extra half-mile should suit Portuguese Lil, but her participation is regarded by most racing professionals as a joke. "The only way that horse could win is if at halfway it cut across the middle," said Geoff Lewis. "But since they've closed the Great Met track which used to run across the Downs, it can't even do that."

Hot weather. High pressure. Good ground. Now for the Storm. (Storm Trooper's Derby: 6/1.) Call 0990 524 524. THE VODAFONE DERBY. 6/2 Dushyantor, 6/7 Alhaarth, 8/1 Even Top, 8/1 Glory Of Dancer, 8/1 Storm Trooper, 7/1 Shaamit, 12/1 Double Leaf, 14/1 Mystic Knight, 14/1 St Mawes, 20/1 Chief Contender, 20/1 Busy Flight.

Rugby Union

Wales hope to catch Wallabies on hop

Wales today revisit the scene of their greatest humiliation when they face Australia at Ballymore. Five years ago, they left here having been thrashed 63-6, a defeat that would have been 75-6 in today's scoring. Wales may have recovered from those dark, desperate days but their defeats 69-30 by Australian Capital Territory on Sunday and 27-20 by a weak New South Wales side three days later mean the Wallabies are 25-1 on. Australia's coach Greg Smith yesterday admitted that he knew very little about

Wales. "I am not familiar with their players and I have not spent a lot of time studying Welsh rugby," he said. "I am more concerned about what we do. We have to make sure that our ball retention, basic skills and defence are good; if they are, we should be able to maintain fairly constant pressure on the Welsh line." Australia are playing their first international under Smith, who succeeded Bob Dwyer at the end of last year. The Australians may not be at their best: it will be their first match for 10 months and they have untried combinations in the centre, the front row and the back row. "Our main hope is catching

Sport in brief

Hockey

Powerful shots by the left-winger Nick Thompson and the centre-half Kalbir Takhar saw Britain beat Canada 2-1 at Blenheim yesterday, their third win in four days, writes Pat Rowley. Britain conceded the first goal as Canada scored from their one and only corner of the first half when Alan Brahmist fired a rebound past the unsuspecting goalkeeper David Luckes on 28 minutes — though the home side's passing moves had already created so many chances that the match should have been sewn up by then. Motorcycling: The Australian world champion Michael Doohan seeks his third consecutive 500cc victory in Europe when the French GP returns to the Le

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Derby runners and riders: full details on page 11

SportsGuardian

Christie shows Bailey scant respect

Duncan Mackay

LONDON CHRISTIE gave Donovan Bailey, the man who succeeded him as the world 100 metres champion, a quick lesson in respect when he handed the Canadian a thorough beating in Nuremberg last night, a victory that will surely convince him to defend his Olympic title.

In their first meeting since Bailey so incensed him in January by suggesting Christie was acting when he collapsed clutching his hamstring at the finish of the World Championship final in Gothenburg last year, the Briton won easily in 10.06sec.

"Absolutely no one was injured in that race," Bailey had said. "My opinion, and the opinion of the competitors I know, is that no one was injured." Christie was so angry he threatened to sue Bailey.

But last night the Olympic champion lapped up the crowd's applause in the Frankensstadion, clearly delighted at the sharp riposte he had delivered to the main favourite to succeed him in Atlanta.

Christie, who had himself paid the price for coming out of his blocks too slowly against Dennis Mitchell in Rome two nights earlier, was away much quicker on this occasion while Bailey was cursing himself for a wretched start and finished second, 0.03 down.

Sally Gunnell's Olympic hopes took a knock when she finished third in 56.03sec in the 400m hurdles behind Germany's Beate Meissner and Jamaica's Debbie-Ann Parris.

VENABLES' MEN READY TO TAKE THE EURO STAGE



Laugh with the lions... Terry Venables was in relaxed mood yesterday



The race is almost on... Scotland's squad warm up for Holland at Stratford-upon-Avon yesterday

England can take a lead with captain Adams



David Lacey

ENGLAND will open the 1996 European Championship today looking for hope rather than glory. One thing at a time. The glory will have to wait.

So will David Platt, unless the rumour are wrong. Captain on Monday, back-bencher on Saturday, all the signs are that he will be left out against Switzerland this afternoon so that Gareth Southgate can re-establish with Tony Adams the centre-back partnership that looked so promising against China in Beijing a fortnight ago.

If Adams is not captain today he was certainly giving a very good impression of one yesterday as he described this way he would be going round the dressing room before the match "motivating those who need to be motivated and

calming down those who need calming down. What needs to be done I will do." This was the captain speaking, not the first mate.

In one sense the likely omission of Platt defies logic. He is England's leading scorer with roughly a goal every two games. Alan Shearer has not scored for England in nearly two seasons. Then again, if a central midfielder has to be sacrificed Platt is the obvious choice. The Pauls Ince and Gascoigne are now more fundamental to England's needs.

An alternative would be to drop Steve McManaman, who has been giving England important width on the left wing, albeit right-footed. This, however, would not only narrow the attack but dislodge the team's balance.

Either way it appears that Venables has, initially at any rate, given up the idea of a three-man defence pivoting on Adams. He knows that the first requirement of a major tournament is not to lose the opening match, and the immediate exposure of Adams to Grassi, Siorza and Turkylmas is probably not something he is prepared to risk.

Had a computer been asked to come up with ideal opponents for England at Wembley this afternoon it would probably have produced Switzerland, a team good enough

to test early English optimism but beatable all the same.

As England coach, Venables goes on trial today after 2 1/2 years preparing his case. His term has been more notable for events off field than on it; with no need to qualify, perhaps this was inevitable.

A quick rather than deep thinker, Venables should be in his element once the tournament has begun. He is nothing if not a good organiser and improviser, an astute manipulator of players and a keen observer of opposition weaknesses.

Yesterday he looked distinctly more relaxed than either of his two predecessors, Bobby Robson and Graham Taylor, on the eve of a tournament. He was guardedly optimistic, he believed the team had improved under his guidance and had as good a chance as anybody. Changes were hinted at against Scotland and Holland "even if it is going well".

Switzerland, he warned, were well organised with good pedigree. Their coach Artur Jorge had a distinguished record. "The Swiss aren't going to come here to roll over," he concluded, perfectly straight-faced.

Venables's England are not a bad-looking side but they are unproven competitively. This afternoon's match is unlikely to see them at their

best. In fact it would be a cause for concern if today turned out to be the best England have to offer.

Yet if England win today it will be hard to see them not qualifying for the quarter-finals. The next task, then, would be to ensure they head Group A and stay at Wembley.

There is a possibility the group will be decided by goals rather than points. It is important, therefore, that England achieve a rhythm of creating and taking chances as soon as possible. Until Venables's attack scored six altogether against Hungary and China the regularity with which opportunities were being missed was worrying.

Switzerland were beaten 3-1 at Wembley in a friendly last November and a similar win today is not beyond Venables's team. If Shearer is among the scorers then so much the better for England's prospects.

A flurry of goals from Shearer over the next three weeks and the idea of England winning the European Championship will become something more than a nice thought. A hat-trick today and hope and glory may begin to look synonymous.

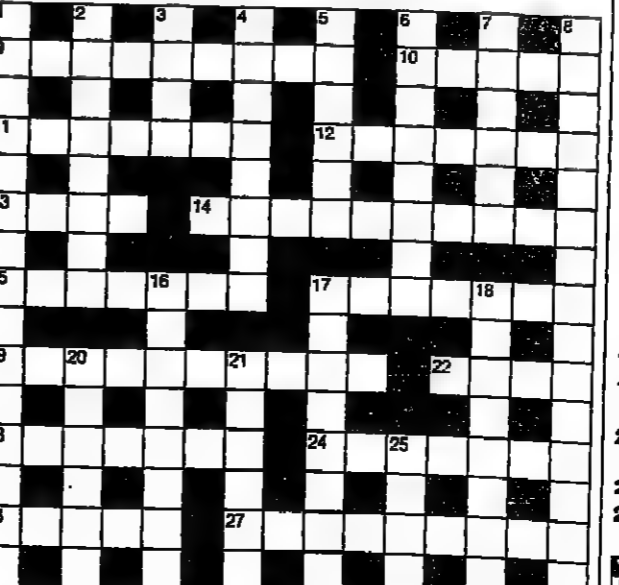
ENGLAND (probable): Seaman; G Neville, Adams, Southgate, Pearce; Anderton, Gascoigne, Ince, McManaman, Sheringham, Shearer.

Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,674

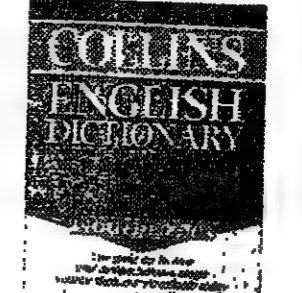
A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,674, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday. Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday June 17.

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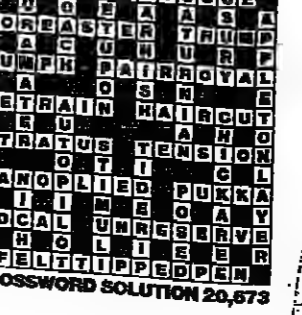
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- Set by Araucaria
- Across**
- 9 Oprah's revelation to dialectician rendered brother speechless (5,4)
 - 10 Savimbi's lot's in - run it again (5)
 - 11 Arrive without dog to race? (7)
 - 12 Sat after work on the other side (7)
 - 13 Love 3's returned (4)
 - 14 Bad lad interrupts the best bits subject to clipping (10)
 - 15 The membrane, being on the bell, disconcerts callers (7)
 - 17 Look after mother without talking (4,3)
- Down**
- 19 Nothing comes back (3,7)
 - 22 Mountain height and river in poem (4)
 - 23 Conviving associates of 14 (7)
 - 24 Absurd person on part of course with part of primate (7)
 - 26 Strike marks time (5)
 - 27 6! Out of goal without 13? (5-4)



- 4 Prosper, having food and water supply (8)
- 5 Nothing to vote for - degree at university (6)
- 6 Catch unawares, sometimes repeated (8)
- 7 Companion of Christopher is not in the best of taste (6)
- 8 2,4,5,6,18,20 and 26, bitten and twice shy in poem (5,10)
- 16 Grain measures or punt poles (associated with M. Spark's Ballad?) (8)
- 17 Sort heather from firewood (8)
- 18 I left one sailor among my soldiers (6)
- 20 Student attached to fellow at university (6)
- 21 Conviction of danger? (6)
- 25 Uses money of foreign country (4)



Crossword Solution 20,674

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Outlook page 17

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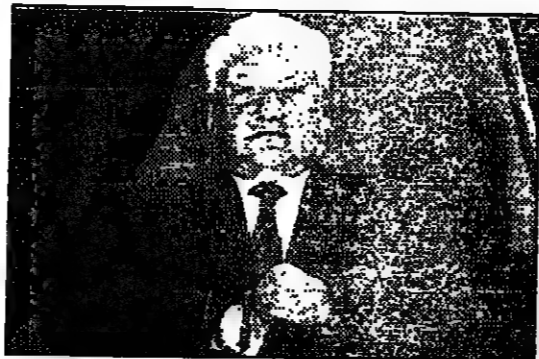
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The Guardian
Outlook

REACHING FOR HIS WALLET
Moscow, May 20: amnesty for state factories that haven't paid taxes - worth \$5-\$10 billion



Vorkuta, May 25: pledges \$25 million for economic aid to the region, and \$1 million for children's holidays



Grozny, May 27: signs decree that will end conscription in Russian army by the year 2000. Cost incalculable



Will the wad win it for Boris?

Roll up, roll up! Russia's president is doling out roubles and decrees by the handful to buy votes and stay in power. And it's working, says DAVID HEARST

Photomontage by ROGER TOOTH



fears of a change of power. In an old anecdote from Gogol's time, a wise landlord sits on his balcony drinking tea. He is surrounded by mosquitoes and his servant asks the master whether he can brush them off. "No," replies the landlord, "because those that are on my skin have had enough of my blood, while newcomers will want to drink again." In Soviet times, this became used in a joke about the one-party system: "Why do we have only one party? Because we can't afford to feed two."

Yeltsin is beating a drum which only the native Russians can hear. Yes, his campaign team says, my men have grabbed their dachas, their cars, their stakes in privatised business, and made their mistakes. If you allow Zyuganov to power, his men will do the same thing. Better to leave the same elite in power because they, like the mosquitoes, have already been fed.

BORIS Yeltsin wraps this iron message in a velvet glove. He has forgotten his tennis-playing past and has settled comfortably into old age. He is a grandfather now, posing as a normal Russian having to till the soil in his allotment to make ends meet.

We are told by him that "my family and I are collecting 10 sacks of potatoes from my garden". Not content to stretch credulity to its limits, Grandfather Yeltsin goes on: "I am buying milk for my grandsons from Yuri Luzhkov's cows." Yuri Luzhkov is the mayor of Moscow.

Naina, Yeltsin's wife, has also been carefully packaged. A first lady of Russia, she is not. The two Russian women who ventured into Hillary Clinton's role did so at their peril and neither could withstand the shockwave of hatred from the Russian sisters - Raisa Gorbacheva, the most spectacular victim of this venom, and more recently Ludmilla Narusova, wife of Anatoli Sobchak, the ousted mayor of St Petersburg.

From outer space bobs over the heads of the throng, the first sign that Boris Yeltsin is approaching. The streetwise voice growls and clucks. He is one of them. Then comes the familiar shock of silver hair, the red face, and the eyes buried in deep trenches under many layers of jowly skin. A frown ripples through the moving scrum, and all sorts of improbable supplicants are caught in its epicentre. A girl, aged 17, in a white blouse and prim bouffant, who says, somewhat alarmingly, that she "represents the future" presses flowers into the hands of Boris. "There's a long pause. The black box crackles into life. "I married too early, huh, huh, huh," says the voice. The presidential entourage, all men, mimic the presidential leer.

Then come the handouts. Two harvesters and a car for a group of Chechen villagers; three billion roubles to build a new church in Stavropol; 60 billion roubles for electronic factories in Zelenograd, 133 billion roubles for the miners

in Vorkuta. Nobody can keep count.

With one week left before the first free elections ever for a Russian head of state, President Yeltsin has just completed a whirlwind tour of the country. He has distributed election promises like confetti. Every few steps of his walkabout, another pledge is made. It's even worse with the decrees. They are signed on the side of an armoured personnel carrier in Grozny, or entrance to a mine shaft.

Yeltsin visits a museum in Archangelsk and immediately signs a decree about giving more money to museums. He visits a nuclear submarine shipyard and, hey presto, Russia gets another nuclear submarine. Projects rusting in dormant neglect suddenly come back to life. Peter the Great, a nuclear powered 25,000-ton cruiser lying idle for five years, 80 per cent complete, is suddenly finished.

The way this burst of decree-making has been worded makes clear that it is all for

electoral show, with no real chance of becoming law.

The miners in Vorkuta, the Afghan vets in Volgograd, the electronic workers of Zelenograd all know that when the president disappears into his armoured Zil with a final wave, so do their chances of getting their claims back on the political agenda.

Why then does all this work? When Boris Yeltsin began his campaign for re-election in February, he was in the worst position imaginable. He had just returned to work two months after his second heart attack, when a bungled Chechen military raid led to a second hostage-taking drama and a new national emergency.

Yeltsin was caught like a rabbit in headlights. He was seen to be weak, out of touch and cruel. His rating was 6 per cent. He was unelectable. Yet today, practically all the polls have Yeltsin leading over his main challenger, the communist leader Gennady Zyuganov.

The comeback kid of Russian politics has risen from his political grave. He is slimmer, energetic and off the booze. His reactions are quick. He has travelled the length and breadth of this vast country. He is on every television news broadcast, on all channels, both public and private. He is in fact running a mastery campaign.

FOR political scientists who know their trade, Yeltsin's campaign strategy has been simple and effective. He hid his hands up to the mistakes he made such as launching the war in Chechnya and liberalising prices so quickly that millions of Russians lost all their savings. He acknowledges that factories are at a standstill. All he says is that under the communists it would be worse.

"If people are convinced that the evil you are fighting is an absolute and eternal one, you are absolved," says Professor

the same thought this way: "As it is impossible to prove that Boris Yeltsin is good, after everything that has happened in the country, his campaign managers are trying to prove that the opposition is extremely bad."

First stop on the propaganda offensive is television. Old nomenklatura placemen, the people who had long experience of serving as their master's voice, are in charge of state TV, NTV, the independent channel that Rupert Murdoch has shown interest in, had to be dealt with slightly differently.

It had a tradition of independent reporting, especially from Chechnya. It carried two kiss-and-tell interviews with Vyacheslav Kostikov, the acerbic press secretary Yeltsin had just fired, who said to the delight of all: "His only love and passion is power."

The initial reaction to television's growing independence was a clumsy one, reminiscent of how the Party dealt with dissenting art in the seventies. A mysterious bulldozer de-

channel's director, announced he was joining Yeltsin's campaign team.

Since then all Russian television has been crammed with supportive messages, none of them too subtle. This is the perfect time for catching up on all those Gulag films you missed, because the small screen is full of them. "When I switch on the TV I have the impression that Stalin died yesterday, not 40 years ago," one journalist wrote.

The small doses of Gennady Zyuganov, trying as hard as possible to sound moderate, reasonable and peaceful, are sandwiched by heavy political commentary. It is almost as if the Zyuganov message is carried with an Official Government Health Warning. The only place for Zyuganov to go unchallenged is on local television.

Then there is the message that the Kremlin puts out. Anatoli Chubais, the sacked privatisation minister, talked of "civil war" if the communists came back to power. Similar scaremongering argu-

Meanwhile, there is a real war, forgotten by the international community, going on inside Russia, one that has claimed more than 30,000 lives. Last week Yeltsin boasted in Grozny: "There is no more war in Chechnya. I have brought you peace. There are only small separatist groups of bandits."

The broken promises are almost incidental. Very few, least of all Russia's five million new small businessmen, believe Yeltsin when he said in Tver this week: "If we don't make a mistake on June 18, if we continue along the way we have chosen, the improvement will begin in one year." A familiar theme this. On October 28, 1991 Yeltsin promised the pain would last "about half a year". In Autumn 1992, he pretended to see the first signs of increasing production.

The campaign team and its propaganda machine are using these gaffes to their own advantage, by putting out the line that the president can't change horses in mid-stream. In this they are playing on ancient

the simple, cardist woman, close to people's problems. "I don't want to whitewash my husband. He has made mistakes, but he has done many good things for Russia and he is doing everything he can in order that all the CIS countries can live in peace and have political liberty."

The cynicism of these statements is extraordinary. Yeltsin's government is unable to pay its workers' wages, raiding the Central Bank reserves and thus printing money. And yet he keeps on promising gifts that he knows he cannot pay.

The financial handover left from the election will be huge, at best delaying economic stabilisation for a year, at worst making another collapse of the rouble more likely. Boris Yeltsin says no need to this. All that is left of his many incarnations - communist boss, democrat, nationalist, and now vegetable-growing grandfather - is the image of a Tsar, sometimes kind, sometimes cruel, clinging on to the one thing he knows best: the uses and abuses of power.

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Quality plus equality

ONE political party is already in turmoil over education. No, not Labour but the Tory party, with the chairman of the Conservative Party reported to be in despair over the Education Secretary's failure to put Labour on the defensive on schools. But is Labour due to divide too following Tony Blair's blasphemy yesterday with respect to the old socialist comprehensive catechism? He not only reversed hallowed principles — pledging instead a presumption in favour of grouping children by attainment unless schools can demonstrate that success with mixed ability teaching — but also wanted setting by ability introduced much earlier in secondary schools and across more subjects. In his words: "If setting is best in measurable subjects (maths and science) shouldn't it be applied too in less easily measured subjects like history and English?"

Some fundamentalists within the party will be upset. Any criticism of comprehensives is regarded by them as a political apostasy. But there is no point in reformers burying their heads in the

school sandpit. The Labour leader was not abandoning the comprehensive system but setting out ways in which it could be improved. He was right to talk about the uneven performance of schools and their failure to meet the goals set by Labour in the 1990s: to widen the high standards set by grammar schools and increase the ladders of opportunity for bright children from poor families. One only has to look at successive reports from school inspectors over the last decade to see how far short the schools have fallen. This year's annual report showed the gap between best and the worst even wider than ever: the most successful comprehensives achieving GCSE results twice as good as others in similar socio-economic circumstances and six times better than those achieved by the least successful in less favoured areas. Labour was right to strive for a fairer education system but Blair is right to insist that "equality must not become the enemy of quality".

So Labour will take into account that different children move at different speeds and have differing abilities. To do otherwise does "give idealism a bad name". The children who have suffered the most in the last 30 years are the most disadvantaged: about 20 per cent of 16-year-olds fail to achieve any qualifications in English or maths. The 11 plus will not be reintroduced but setting by ability will be pushed. Most teachers will adopt such an approach with over 70 per cent of post-14-year-olds in English grouped by ability, over 80 per cent in science and modern language, and 90 per

cent in maths. This was one reason why there was so little fuss from the teaching unions when David Blunkett earlier this year signalled his intention of looking at every sacred cow including decoupling mixed-ability teaching from the comprehensive goal.

The Tories do not know how to handle these overt Labour signals. They are angry with their Education Secretary for suggesting Labour is stealing Tory policies. In the words of one senior Tory quoted in this week's Telegraph: "We don't want her saying they are stealing our clothes because that is tantamount to endorsing their policies." Instead, Tory party leaders seem intent on moving even further to the right with the Prime Minister insisting on the introduction of nursery school vouchers, eager to push more selection in all schools, and foolishly promising a grammar school in every town. Mrs Shephard will not thank us for our support but she has done her best to stem the ideological idiocies of the far right even though she has been frequently over-ridden by the Prime Minister. Labour will be laughing all the way to the polls. The idea that the electorate will rally to Tory calls for more selection rather than Labour demands for higher standards could only be believed by a government which has lost touch with the people. Can the Tories really have forgotten what happened to the hapless John Patten when he tried to politicise education reform? Concentrating on the top 20 per cent of children was a mistaken approach 30 years ago. Trying to resuscitate it now would be monumental folly.

Moving the winning post

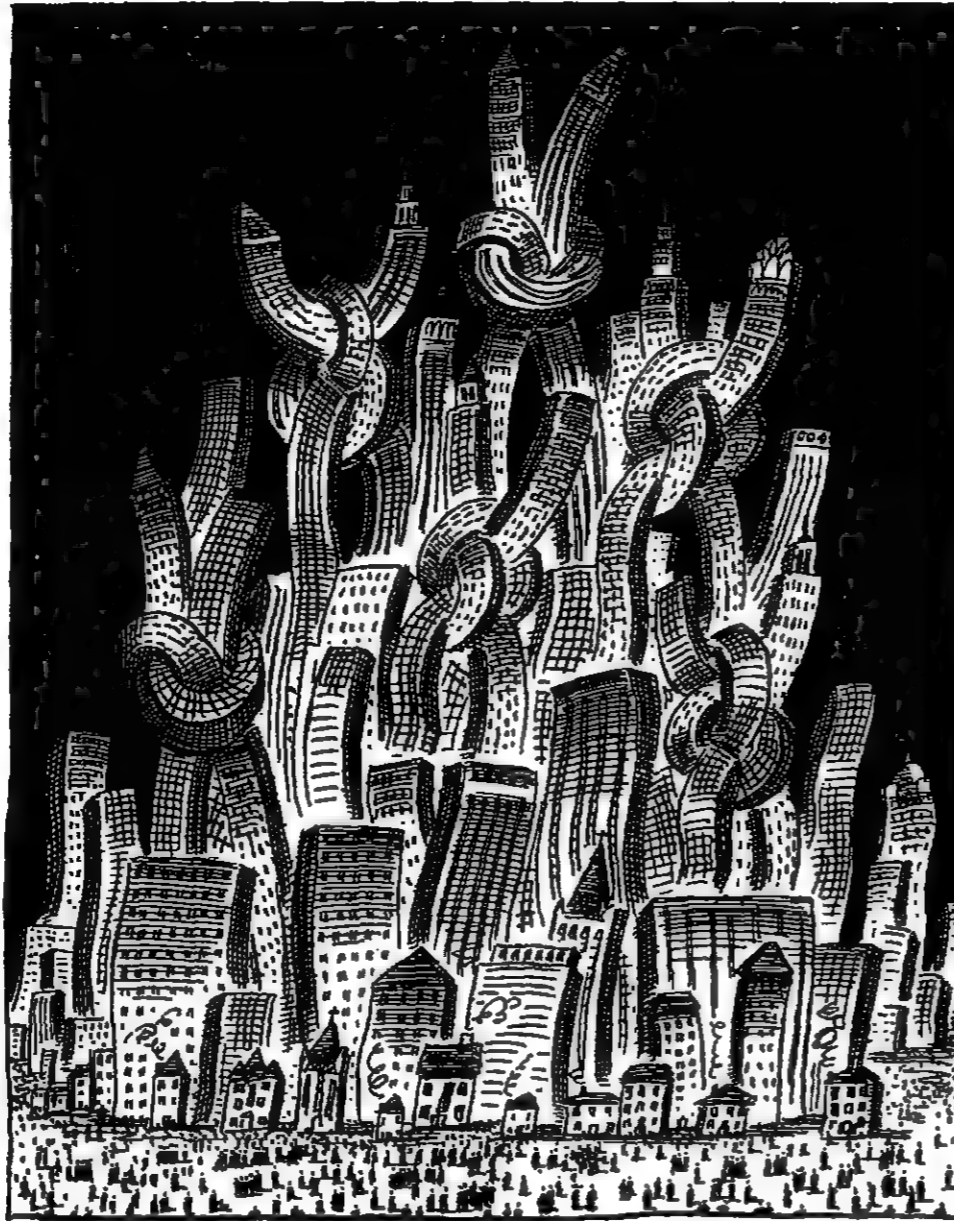
TODAY is Derby Day. Except, of course, that it isn't. Everyone knows that Derby Day ought to be a Wednesday — the first Wednesday in June — as it has been since most people can remember. Until last year, that is, when the marketing man changed it in the name of progress. Is nothing sacred? The staging of one of the world's greatest horse races on a Wednesday had become a revered national ritual. People who never normally bet had an innocent flutter on the office sweepstake. It simply isn't the same when you have to wait until Monday morning to find out who has won. On Derby Wednesday, offices would stop working for five minutes without any obvious loss of productivity, assembly lines would be temporarily neglected, and the Houses of Parliament even less well attended than usual as people took time off for a rare moment of national bonding. The roads to Epsom were jammed with people taking time off from work often under the guise of corporate entertaining.

The Derby is quintessentially British and not just because we are an inveterate nation of gamblers. It is because, like giving blood, it is a free activity for the tens of thousands of people who stand on the Downs, even though numbers have been falling in recent years. The race is also run along distances with a sense of history — one mile, four fur-

longs and 10 yards. Even as we write, there is probably a committee in Brussels planning to convert all this to kilometres and decimal parts thereof. They must be resisted at all costs. The race hasn't been immune to change. In a genuflection to the digital age it is now sponsored by Vodafone and the Downs will play host to huge screens to enable punters to watch sports events happening elsewhere. Doubtless its name will soon be changed from the Derby Stakes to the Derby Stakeholders in order to keep up with the times. But despite all this, the race itself — and the unforgettable sound of hoofs thundering along grass — have remained unchanged over the decades. This year will have the added attraction of the first woman jockey (Alex Greaves on the 500 to 1 outsider, Portuguese Lil) ever to ride in the Derby.

Last year's switch to Saturday wasn't the success hoped for. Corporate entertaining dropped and the amount laid in bets fell from £35 million to £28 million. This year's race coincides with the first day of the European Cup when England play Switzerland (a fact unknown to the organisers when they fixed the date). It is beginning to look as though Someone-Up-There isn't looking too kindly on Saturdays and the authorities ought to take the hint. Even now it isn't too late to recant and move the Derby back from the crowded weekend sporting calendar to the less competitive nostalgia of the first Wednesday in June where it belongs. The Queen is said to be displeased with the move to Saturday. She is Not Amused. And neither are we.

By 2000, half the world will live in cities, the rest in societies dependent on them. MARTIN WOOLLACOTT looks for a way out of the concrete jungle. Illustration by Peter Till



Have we lost the cities of the heart?

WE endlessly complain about them, idealise them, deplore them, reject them, and embrace them. We hymn them, quantify them, and arrange them in league tables.

Cities more and more define our lives, because more and more of us live in them. Perhaps definition is not the right word. Cities now loom so large that they amorphaously contain everything. City life is no longer one way of life, co-existing along with other ways, that of towns, or of the agricultural countryside, or even of nomads and pastoralists. All these survive, but increasingly tributary to the city.

The end of the long story of the City and the Country, so often predicted, may finally be with us. Perhaps it will come when, as delegates to the UN Habitat II conference in Istanbul have been told, the moment arrives at the turn of the century when more than half of its will live in cities. Three billion in cities; the other three billion in lesser settle-

ments whose economies and culture will be cified through and through; the mind boggles.

Such numbers breach continuity with the past. Aristotle said that the perfect city should have no more than 5,000 people and that anything over 100,000 people, whatever it was, was not a city. Medieval cities were tiny, both in population numbers and in physical extent. London, one of the first big cities, was half a million in the 17th century, and vastly exceeded the next largest, Bristol, which had 30,000 inhabitants.

The ancient idea of a city as a community large enough for diversity, but small enough for face-to-face politics, that is, of the city as the optimum political unit, contrasts with the reality today of huge cities whose crying need is for good governance. This is so even if the mega-cities that were forecast and feared 10 years ago are not, according to the Habitat research, growing as rapidly as expected.

If cities have long since ceased to be places of optimum politics, they nevertheless in-

creasingly provide, more than nation or class, the framework within which we experience politics, and much of the language we use to talk about politics. The heaving of battered Sarajevo, the reunification of Berlin, Velitsin's defiance of the coup-makers in Moscow: the city is the stage for these tales of the triumph of good over evil.

The quality of life in the city, too, is properly used as a political measure. The South African writer Rian Malan described in a recent article the degeneration of Yeoville, the once-pleasantly Bohemian corner of Johannesburg in which he lives, toward sump status. After another burst of nighttime shooting, he writes: "No, I didn't call the police. It was just another of those South African things." Malan's concerns about South Africa's difficulties were more effectively invoked by his brief plea for Yeoville than by analysis.

Jeremy Seabrook's moving new book, *In The Cities Of The South*, is in the tradition of Henry Mayhew. It attempts to rescue, as Mayhew did in 19th-

Fergie cashes in the Palace

It may only be a matter of time and money. So why the fuss? Because it will lower the tone of the royal family? But what, these days, does not in terms of taste, this is a baby who was far less disturbing than the spectacle of Diana dancing with what appeared to be a Charolais in a dinner suit but was actually a 23-stone American playboy. If the Palace does not like the duchess's plans, then it must look to its own lack of vision.

Those courtiers who were pompously fond of warning that "the knives were out for Fergie" should have recognised the wisdom of reaching a sensible accommodation with a woman made dangerous not by malice but by naivety and a rapacious need for easy cash. They are also in part responsible for a climate of hypocrisy in which her decision to publish seems reasonable. It is, after all, slightly ironic that while the Prince and Princess of Wales may tell all, their former housekeeper, Wendy Berry, has been gagged through the British courts and is now in exile in America because her anonymous belowstairs book.

One rule for the servants, then, and another for what Harold Robbins (a fellow client of Fergie's prestigious New York editor) might term the carpetbaggers. Or, in the duchess's case, the carpet-sweeper. Fergie, unlike the Waleses, the duchess — who has many enemies but no agents — has a large cheque — is likely to ensure that the dirt remains under the Axminster.

I HAVE just returned from the People's Republic of Laos, where our national trade delegation (one man on loan from the Bangkok Embassy) has not prevented the country from pandering to every whim of the discerning British traveller.

A new hotel has opened, boasting a lavish English brochure. "Various styles exotic suites offer you serene peace to quickly restore your vitality." It says, failing to mention that these are located just above the nightclub ("large dance floor let you relax, bottoms up, dance to the music, twist away one night's slight drunkenness"). The drunkenness was indeed minimal, since the cellar contained only one bottle of Niersteiner and one of Riesling, but the banquet was worthy of a visiting Kohl or Chirac. "We have brought in your best especially for you English," said our boss. "But you must not worry. We import it from New Zealand."

These were, one hopes, more accurate than Fergie's revelations on her publishing plans. "I am a very loyal person," she told me. "I shall never write an autobiography."

It is just possible that the additional words "... unless the Queen withdraws her overflight-levelling facility and someone pays me \$1 million to write it," were dropped out by an airline steward asking HRH whether she would care for another mini-blind, but I do not recall them.

And now the duchess is embarked on a saga she no doubt sees as a cross between Hans Christian Andersen and Arthur Anderson — a modern fairytale guaranteed to keep the accountants happy. Hence the fresh round of Fergie-baiting. The charge, as usual, is gross vulgarity. Education: summa cum laude graduate of the Madame Vasso blue pyramid boarding school and the John Bryan academy of financial advice. Hobbies: shopping, holidays, eating, starving (all to excess) and Tippiex face-painting for sepulchral but lucrative magazine picture spreads.

But the precedents both for dubious taste and telling all are well-established. The Prince of Wales co-operated with the Dimbleby biography. Diana, sheltered behind the translucent skirts of Andrew Morton, made public her story. Both confessed to adultery on prime time TV — something to which the duchess has not stooped, although

Smallweed



SUMMERTIME, and the think-tanks are a-thoughting. The rising cerebral sep is evidenced in the busting out all over of ideas, proposals, papers and whatnot. There's Nexus

"the biggest ideas network in British history", all set to fill New Labour's head with brave, original thinking (well, thinking anyway). There are the old lags, showing these rookies how it's done: Demos (a paper calling for a new kind of entrepreneurship based on microworlds, i.e. not entrepreneurship); the Social Affairs Unit (a book demanding a return to good manners) and the Institute for Public Policy Research (a report due Monday on reform of EU citizenship). Confronted with all this bright-eyed, what-we-must-do stuff, Smallweed cannot resist replaying The Poetry Society (BBC Radio; December 1999), during which Tony Hancock enthuses to Sid James about his anti-establishment beatnik group, the East Cheam Cultural Progressive Society. Sid is unimpressed: "When you add it all up, it's a bit tatty, isn't it?" Hancock explodes. "Tatty? We're the hope of the world, mate!"

MEANWHILE, Smallweed has spent the last few days thinking long and hard about bricks and mortar, as is only natural during National Housing Week, and has contemplated affairs of the liver, only right and proper during Hepatitis Awareness Week. This squeezed the time available for meditating on creek-related matters as befitted Arthritis Research Week or for basking in Sun Awareness Week. Nor was there a lot of brainpower left for UN World Environment Day (Wednesday), although today we should all be sufficiently recovered to sound the alarm for Tampoon Alert Day and to wallow in World Oceans Day. No pause for

breath, though; today marks also the beginning of Friends of the Earth's Car Week, of Down's Syndrome Awareness Week and of National Wildlife Week. And no peace on the Sabbath either: tomorrow we begin National Swimfit Week and National Walk to School Week. Had enough? Then emigrate before Monday, the kick-off for National Food Safety Week.

WANTED: a captain for one of the unbrapliest ships in Whitehall, the Central Office of Information. The Government's propaganda outfit has lost half its workforce in 10 years, and we hear the new chief executive will be expected to eliminate 100 of the surviving 480 poets. Smallweed's runners and riders for the 275,000 slot follow, starting with civil-service insiders: Mike

Granatt (Home Office information director), Andrew Marre (deputy press chief at No 10), Jim Coe (head of info, at education "n" employment) and dark-horse Keith Williamson, COI finance chief. Gossip rules: on Williamson, but, with more cuts a priority at COI, his financial background makes him worth a side bet. The women's interest is represented by Jean Caines, DTI information supreme, and her opposite numbers at Health (Romola Christopherson) and the MOD (Gill Samuel). Outsiders include Adrian Mooney (now Cable finance chief, gossip rules), previously head of info, at DTT and the Home Office) and Hugh Colver, the chap who tried out the Conservative Central Office communications job in 1995 and swiftly decided he didn't have what it took. Given that Colver had been head of

PR at the MOD during the Gulf War, the heat in the Mawhinney kitchen must have been at Gobi desert levels. But the outside of outside bets have to be on two former COI men: Chris Tarrant, the wireless presenter, and Peter Greenaway, the film director.

THE reported worldwide electronic renaissance of the haiku — the Japanese 17-syllable still-life mini-poem — encourages marginally warmer feelings towards the Internet, although the British made their definitive contribution to the art form 32 years ago: "You only live twice/Once when you are born/And once when you look death in the face" (Ian Fleming; 1964). Very good Bondo-san, but, as Tiger Tanaka points out, it has the incorrect number of syllables. Rotten English

OUR fears last month that Jude on the big screen would suck the best of Hardy to Hollywood and leave nothing for our own, super-sensitive adaptations were groundless. Let The Truman Show go to MGM, just leave us with The Distracted Preacher (1879), a longish short story with a FS from TH suggesting his female lead, a dashing lady smuggler, does not, as the story claims, repent and settle down with the preacher of the title; "much to her credit, in the author's opinion", she flees to Wisconsin with another smuggler. If that isn't ambiguous and alternative enough for our cine types, nothing will be.

HARDLY were last week's final three words ("Stone's Best Bitter") heading to the press than we knew we would regret them. Intensive market research using the latest American techniques (thanks for the letter, Mr Yorke) confirms our readers take their ads seriously and prefer only the most authentic of real beers. Name one brand and eight rivals sizzle down the wire from Mr Yorke's computer port; eye range from Mackeson's Milwaukee to the terrifying-sounding Old Accidental. One day, Smallweed will come out, loud and proud, brandishing a pint of E (it's a drink, you fool!) and declare himself through and through keg-legal in his stance, rather than privet leaves and doormouse boys. One day... but not yet.

John Patten 15/50



A job with a view... painters Dave Whatmore and Jed Needs at work on the bridge. In the background the Second Severn Crossing which opened this week

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF MORFAN

A very odd job at 450 feet

As the second Severn bridge opens, high above the river, a group of men toil on the old one. GARY YOUNGE rose to the occasion

STANDING 450 feet over the River Severn, in a hard hat and a luminous orange jumpsuit, Jed Needs is trying hard to convince me that his job is just like anybody else's. "I admit that to a layman it does look a bit dangerous, but I can't honestly think of any other job I'd rather be doing," he says.

I am unconvinced. Jed has been working on the bridge as a painter and rigger for seven years. I have been on it for less than seven minutes and just a peek through the tiny holes on the platform on to the traffic several hundred feet below makes me queasy. The only three things of my getting anywhere near this kind of height were accompanied by a bag full of duty free and an inflight magazine. Jed does it every day.

If you look up high and hard as you cross the bridge on a clear summer afternoon you will see three little dots milling about in the haze. From that distance they could be anything. They are in fact Jed, and his two workmates, Dave Whatmore and Martin Barrett. Three of the 40 or so men who work on the Severn Bridge.

When the new Severn Bridge, formally called the Second Severn Crossing, was opened this week, the focus of media attention was on Prince Charles and the spat over toll fees. Little thought was given, inevitably perhaps, to the men and women who keep the structure alive, keeping height and the elements, day in day out.

To most people the bridge is simply what they must cross to get from England to Wales. But to Jed, Dave, Martin and their

colleagues on the original Severn Bridge — 18,500 tons of steel spanning 970 metres and covered in 55,000 gallons of paint — this is their life.

Jed, aged 35, says it is his ideal job since he used to be a mountain climber. Martin is a former postman and Dave, aged 32, was unemployed before he took to the bridge. There was no mystery how they fell into the job — they saw an advert in the paper and applied, just like any other.

Would-be riggers and painters aren't questioned about the obvious occupational hazard — vertigo — unless it is thought they are the type for whom it might be a problem. "We just take them out and strap them on to a cable and see how they do. Everybody's bound to be wary of the height at first. But nobody's ever been refused the

job because of that," says Hugh Thomas, the bridge engineer.

Once new recruits have been taken on they are usually quickly hooked. "There is a huge attachment to the bridge. It is a beautiful structure and once you've started here people rarely want to leave. I can't imagine myself working anywhere else until I retire."

Martin will certainly not work anywhere else until he retires. He is 63 and has worked on the bridge for almost 24 years. He is full of tales of the bad old days when safety took second place to productivity and equipment would regularly break down.

"Sometimes if the lifts broke, we'd have to climb to the top of the tower on a ladder. We could be out here when it was blowing a gale, and the bridge would be swinging all over the place. You could just hold the brush and the rods would swing round by themselves," he said.

When he started he earned £28 a week. Now he earns 10 times that. None the less he is looking forward to his retirement as the work, though safer, is not as enjoyable as it used to be. "The craic is dying out. I think we used to have much more of a laugh," he says.

Workers are not allowed on the bridge if the wind is blowing at more than 40 knots or if there is frost. Fatal accidents do happen, though. Five years ago two painters died when their gantry fell from the bottom of the bridge into the rocky river below. Two years ago a winch fell 200 feet and hit a man on the head, killing him instantly. But these, the men insist, are one-offs. "It's much safer than driving on the motorway. So long as people follow the safety procedures then they should be fine. It's not a job for daredevils," says Hugh, who claims his knees still go weak if he has to go on top of his own roof.

For someone who just scraped through O-Level physics and has trouble following the instructions for a self-assembly bookcase the fact that bridges exist at all is little less than a marvel to me. The fact that I, a fully paid up member of

the vertigo club, am standing on top and enjoying the view — which on a good day can stretch from the tip of the Malvern hills to Exmoor — is little short of a miracle. The feeling is brightest when the Guardian's photographer asks Dave to pose and in response Dave starts to do a little jig and waves his brush about, dancing on a cable a foot wide and 400 feet above the sea.

The bridge builders pick up their overalls and tools at eight and knock off at 4.30pm, like many other regular jobs. In between they might be painting, greasing and assisting with inspections or welding. Of course, there are certain irregularities. They take no lunch up there and there are no loos. If they are caught short they might use a paint pot but generally their bladders keep time with the general routine.

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South Wales and south west England, woven together by hedgerows and decorated by spires. They can also chart the high and low tides of the Severn and point out the service station where the Marnie Street Preacher musician, Richey Edwards, was last seen.

The workers tell stories of horrific road accidents like the man who left his young wife in the car when he broke down and turned around to see her and the car flattened by a lorry. Or the caravan that flew away from the car which was towing it and ended up on the other side of the road looking like someone had split matches everywhere. "We saw a bloke throw a package into the sea," says Hugh. "We didn't know what it was but it looked pretty suspicious so we called the police. It ended up being his dead baby daughter."

But their most chilling story, related by Dave, is how they watched helplessly as a man who, high on cannabis and alcohol, climbed over the

safety barriers and all the way up the cables to the top, where he planned to kill himself. "He was serious. I mean he'd thrown his glasses and his wallet into the Severn and was just about to go when the policeman said, 'Hang on mate, do you want a flag,' and managed to talk him down."

On our way down I am trying not to show my relief at the prospect of an imminent reunion with *terra firma*, as the lift door closes on us, all tightly packed. Then Dave remembers another anecdote. "Come to think of it, we did have a bloke freak out in this lift once. Went nuts he did, and we were all crammed in just like we are to go when the lift would rock it so much it would stop and we would get jammed."

Charming. Not before time, the lift dunks to a halt. The grid door opens and we pile out. I feel like a minor emerging from his first excursion into the pit. Though I, gratefully, came down to earth and not up to it.

Round up the ritual failures



Martin Kettle

Unless the IRA has a last-minute change of mind, Monday will be another day of traditional and recognisable Northern Ireland ritual. Everyone will play the pantomime part to which he or she is long accustomed: Maybew regretful, Dick Spring impatient, David Trimble teetotal, John Hume sanctimonious, Ian Paisley bombastic and Gerry Adams desecrated.

Instead of being the threshold of the new Northern Ireland, it will be another trip down the echoing corridors of the old. No matter how hard most of them try to pretend the peace process is still alive, without a resumed IRA ceasefire, Monday seems set to prove it is lame.

It is very easy to say that this was a foreseeable outcome all those months ago, when John Major and Albert Reynolds stood by a Christmas tree in Downing Street and wished that Santa would bring us peace in Northern Ireland. Many good judges believed it would end this way, because in the end there was not enough in it for Sinn Fein to risk the historic compromise which was all that could democratically be offered. Yet many equally good judges thought that this pessimistic determination was misplaced, and that there genuinely was an opportunity which had not previously existed.

Before it becomes the new accepted wisdom that the peace process was a brave but naive venture whose collapse was eventually inevitable, it needs to be asserted in the strongest and clearest possible terms that this was not so.

Four broad and underlying

factors in the Northern Ireland situation began to change significantly in the 1990s and still exist today. They were: first, the acceptance by a Conservative government that it might be possible to reach a new all-party Anglo-Irish agreement in return for an end to the IRA's war; second, the IRA's genuine interest in what it calls the totally unarmed strategy towards republican goals; third, signs of political modernisation and pluralism in the Irish Republic; and, fourth, the continuing division and even fragmentation of unionism.

None of these subtle changes is individually the cause of the opportunity for peace which opened up in 1993 and which is now disappearing before our eyes. The chemistry of the four together made this moment possible, against the background of a continuing, but sporadically expressed popular will for peace.

These changes did not in any sense make a settlement inevitable. Yet the Downing Street Declaration undoubtedly opened up the possibility. It was the political precondition without which the IRA could not allow the process to reach its next goal. That goal was the IRA ceasefire which eventually arrived in August 1994.

The political importance of this ceasefire was enormous. It meant Sinn Fein could be brought into political dialogue and, subsequently, into a structured all-party talks process. To do that, however, meant persuading sufficient unionist opinion to take part too. The challenge was like one of those hand-held games where you have to gently tip each marble

into a hole without tipping the others out.

There are those who say Major was wrong to do it that way, and that he should have concentrated all his attention on deal-making with Sinn Fein and pressed ahead more quickly, as Albert Reynolds and others wanted. That was and is unrealistic unless you believe — as some do — that British policy should be to withdraw from Northern Ireland irrespective of the wishes of the people who live there.

Like most people in this country, though, Major had a more modest objective — to achieve peace on the basis of a new constitutional settlement democratically acceptable to the citizens of Northern Ireland. With that as the goal, the fundamental aim was to get Sinn Fein (without whom peace is not possible) and sufficient unionists (without whom democratic endorsement is not possible) round the table to discuss the terms of a new settlement. That is why Trimble, as the leader of the only large block of unionists plausibly willing to take part on those terms, is so important in his own way as Adams is in his.

Nevertheless, Major did get it wrong. Although under-

mined in his own party at home, he nevertheless waited too long in 1995 before accepting the ceasefire was genuine. Having waited too long, he was wasting time finding a way out of the decommissioning maze. When the Mitchell report presented him with such an opportunity, he mishandled it, perhaps the single most important error he has made since.

Major should have been more aware of the effect of his approach on republicans in late January. Yet having been at first too cautious about the ceasefire, he had by then become too incautious and lost the balance. Hemmed in though he was at Westminster, he always had Labour's support. Could he not have dared to talk directly to Adams at this time?

In retrospect it would surely have been worth this and other risks — such as a peace referendum — to save a ceasefire which Adams too had an interest in preserving.

Without the IRA ceasefire the Northern Ireland peace process is nothing of the sort. Perhaps the IRA have an 11th hour surprise up their sleeves. If not, the constitutional parties may spend the coming weeks talking as though the process is still alive, but in reality they are replaying the collapsed Brooke/Maybew talks process of 1981-2.

It was the object of British policy to get Sinn Fein into talks. That possibility existed and was lost. Sinn Fein may be turned away from the talks on Monday. Let no one pretend that in turning them away, we would not be marking the failure of our own policy as well as the failure of theirs.

How Gazza saved civilisation

In a 'me, me' world, SIMON HOGGART cheers the England team's collectivity

THE news that the England football team had been declared collectively guilty of smashing up an airline cabin sent some of us back a long way. "Unless the boy who is responsible for this comes forward, the whole form will miss Sports Day," I heard again, through the mists of time.

I don't suppose it happens much now. The notion of collective guilt is one we have been losing for years. Mrs Thatcher didn't believe in "solidarity", and if we don't share the idea of a collective co-existence, then it's hardly likely that we're going to take any blame for anything which someone else does.

I thought the football team came out of it rather well. I don't know what happened in the Cathay Pacific bubble, but it's unlikely that one or two members of the team stowed in the TVs while the others sat with their books, nursing a small Bailey's. Most men remember a time when they and their mates went mental coming back from a game.

A communal Immacy takes over, and it was often the shyest and most insecure who did the damage, just to show they could be as rough as the rest. The obsession with finding whose fist did the damage is, in its way, unjust; they may well have been all to blame.

"We are all guilty" was the slogan of Peter Simple's joke psychiatrist, Dr Heinz



Kloek. But there are times when we are all guilty, or at least ought to feel just a bit responsible. Take crime.

Under the new-fangled Thatcher/Major doctrine of total individualism, all crime is the sole responsibility of criminals. The fact that economic circumstances can create criminals of otherwise decent people is, to them, meaningless. We are separately to blame for what we ourselves choose to do; the idea that, say, unemployment, or tax cuts for the better off, might help cause crime is not only untrue but irrelevant.

So the only answer we have is to bang people up, until we resemble the US, the most individualistic society on earth. In some places one per cent of the population is

in jail, yet crime remains appallingly high.

The loss of our collective consciousness is clear in politics. Cabinet ministers, once sworn to uphold each other, now take every chance to let it be known how they disagreed with that failed position.

It's decades since anyone resigned because their staff made a mistake. Lord Carrington, in 1982, was the last Cabinet minister to quit because he himself did. Nobody does that now (except where sex is concerned). Few politicians feel they owe anything to their colleagues, only to the preservation of their individual careers.

Maybe the new team spirit engendered on the plane will help England win the competition. I doubt it. In Britain we are no longer good at collective sports, as our cricket and soccer teams remind us so often. Instead our individuals excel (at least in sports which can continue if it rains); our heroes are Nick Faldo in golf, Damon Hill in motor racing, Linford Christie on the track.

In the US, baseball clubs are not really teams, but collections of individuals striving to improve their personal statistics, which can be separated from the side's performance and used to measure the next pay rise. But that's where we're going here now. Short-term contracts and all the trappings of the new business order tell us that nobody has a duty to us, and that we have no duty to them. Firms don't offer loyalty to employees, and they don't get it back. ET was wrong — these days, we are alone. So good luck to the guilty soccer stars. At least there are some shreds of collective support left somewhere, even if it's only in a drunken melee on a jumbo,

سكندرية

The hit parade

SO CHILDREN can sometimes be horrible beyond the reach of reason or kindness (Leader, June 6) and that makes hitting them understandable? We didn't need those column inches trying to understand road rage. Then — it's OK because all those other drivers are just so horrid! Come on, what a waste of a leader.

Parents don't need to be told that when they hit their children they (and Mr Blair) are just being human (did we ever doubt it)? They need more positive help than that. Parenting is a demanding activity and what is most demanding is not doing what is right but deciding what is right. Your leader, like others like it which peddle the "it's all right because we've all done it" solution, takes us nowhere, particularly when you admit that smacking "rarely solves anything".

Parents need the support of the law to break the circle, to encourage the belief that hitting is not an option. As with rape within marriage, outlawing the hitting of children will be very hard to do, but the public statement of what is considered right, which is of prime importance.

In the meantime, what should parents do when the children are being just too horrible? Go pummel a cushion, go stand in the next room and scream yourself, you'll get their attention — wide-eyed and disbelieving — and they'll know you're human too. And a dialogue just might begin. Alexandra Shepherd, 509 King Street, Aberdeen AB24 3BT.

on a clothed bottom? Several smacks with the hand on a bare bottom? Six of the best with a slipper? A cane? How about a bit of hard shaking? And at what age is it okay to start? As far as I can see, the only clear dividing line is between hitting and not hitting.

BEFORE I raised a hand to hit a child I used to reflect that I was three times larger than they — the equivalent for me of facing an enraged 18-foot ape — and remembered Isaac Asimov's dictum, "violence is the last resort of the incompetent". I hope our Prime Minister-in-waiting no longer cleaves to violent solutions. Oh, and my two daughters grew to be fine, unassaulted, adult citizens.

FOR GOODNESS' sake let's have some sense talked about this smacking issue! My good-natured, loving 20-year-old son was an obdurate little boy with whom every day was one long battle, until he was about five. Smacking him was an effective way of teaching him who was boss. I don't feel guilty about it and I couldn't have managed without it. In contrast, my other two children, now 18 and 16, were smacked very seldom: one was reserved and shy, the other lively and demanding but seldom naughty. Smacking is right for some children and some parents. If you don't want to do it don't. But don't confuse the sort of smacking that I have used with abuse or cruelty. There is a dividing line.



Sara Thornton on trial again

IT SEEMS to be politically correct these days for almost every London-based newspaper to keep a resident female reporter on a golden chain, primed with instant aggression. Judging by her recent teethmarks in Sara Thornton's personality, yours is Catherine Bennett (Love and death in an impure world, June 5). The Guardian's days as an intelligent, humane paper seem long past.

Sara and I are "pictured grinning in a tree and posing in a park". Like baboons, I suppose — figures of fun. Nice people smile, the rest of us grin. For the record, I was standing on the ground. Posing in a park, it is to be presumed, is less worthy than posing in print.

Hungry for blood, rotters have no time for love, tossing it aside as "mole-kissing terms". As for the dry-rot which masquerades as justice in Britain today, unsound-bite journalism has no time to examine corrupt law which permits judges to distort what the law has laid down in statute. The law on provocation is simple and sensible, until judges get to work dabbling it with their own ancient prejudices. A dog's breakfast, one might risk calling it. Good journalists used to monitor and expose such perversion of law. Now they aid and abet it. Referring to Sara as "the Jeanne d'Arc of provocation" adds a shoddy gloss to profound ignorance.

Your guard dog refers to Sara as "so grotesquely different from our readers". I am happy to include myself out of the latter, knowing that the decent among your readers will regard your reporter as grotesquely common.

George Deif, Brancepeth Castle, Durham DE7 8DF.

SARA Thornton was damned for staying with Malcolm Thornton, and would have been damned if she had left him to it, possibly not least by herself. In that she is representative of many other women, who are on one level blamed for not leaving violent men, and on a deeper level tacitly expected to support and mother them through all the "rough patches".

If the so-called attention-seeking Ms Thornton wishes to romp about with the media, well, one can either avert one's gaze, or choose to see it as a change from the usual media format of an interview in a darkened room where the "battered woman" is asked in hushed tones: "How often did he beat you? Any permanent injuries?" This method has cloaked many a tough survivor with the more acceptable aura of victimhood.

Una Freeseley, Women and Medical Practice, 40 Turnpike Lane, London N8 0PS.

Little natural justice for the shattered fans at Hillsborough

YOUR report on the harrowing experiences of the former South Yorkshire police officer, David Frost, during and after the Hillsborough disaster provides a moving testimony (This is not blood money, June 4). It demonstrates the force's culpability, along with other agencies, in the worst tragedy at any British sports event. Your front-page coverage shows exactly why the compensation issue has become more than a material recognition of the long-term pain and suffering caused by the negligence of corporate bodies.

There are hundreds of accounts like Frost's of supporters enjoying an afternoon at a football match in the "care" of the FA, the club and the police. Unlike Frost and his colleagues, those on the bar-raced did not approach and respond to tragedy; they were caught in it. People died beneath and around them as they struggled to live and to save others. They screamed for the assistance of Frost's colleagues as their loved ones died in their arms. And the officers failed to respond.

In the gymnasium, where the bodies of the dead and injured were laid out, the fans were marginalised and excluded. Later that evening many identified their friends and loved ones. They had to look through numbered photographs of faces in body bags. Statements were then taken in an atmosphere more akin to interrogation than identification.

Many walked away from Hillsborough to shattered lives, never to work again. Others' lives have been cut short. Those ordinary people who stood on the terraces, whose sufferings began well before David Frost and his colleagues came on the scene, and whose dreadful experiences continued long into the night, have not been compensated for their trauma.

The complex and diverse procedures through which compensation claims are settled creates and sustains a hierarchy of suffering. While a price cannot be put on a life

Marriages of great convenience

JONATHAN Freedland (The pink, white and blue, June 4) highlights the American conflict between those who want gay marriages and those who define marriage solely in terms of the legal union between one man and one woman. There is an equally powerful conflict within the gay community here and in the US between those who seek married status and those who prefer the concept of a civil domestic partnership with the same rights — and responsibilities — as a civil marriage and open to all couples, straight and gay.

I accept that within the gay community there are some who want to see gay marriages recognised for deeply held religious reasons. I

Crowded cells

THE revelation by the Director General of the Prison Service that the prison population is set to reach 60,000 by next autumn (Prisoners chief seeks £15m for new jails, June 5) is a stark reminder of the power of political rhetoric in the area of law and order.

The previous projections indicated that the number of prisoners would not reach 58,500 until 2004. The proliferation of prison sentences is encouraged by the Home Secretary's "Prison Works" policy in an increasingly impossible position. Even if it is quickly granted extra money, the number of prisoners in overcrowded cells will still rise by 3,000 over the next year.

The slogan "Prison works" is a grotesque misnomer for current policies. Overcrowded and overstretched prisons are not working. Sentencers' alarming behaviour contains a lesson for all politicians: if they favour a balanced penal policy which makes a sparing use of prison, they must argue publicly for it. It will not be achieved by stealth behind a smokescreen of tough talk which itself affects the climate in which courts sentence.

Paul Cavendish, Chairman, Penal Affairs Consortium, 168 Clapham Road, London SW9 0PU.

Cutting that Redwood down to size

IT IS inaccurate and disingenuous for John Redwood (Jobs for the people, Comment page, June 5) to blame the social chapter and the single currency for high levels of unemployment in Europe. Inaccurate, because there is no legislation so far passed under the social chapter provision which could be blamed for unemployment — unless Redwood thinks works councils put people out of work. In fact, the social chapter expressly excludes wages from its remit.

If he is confusing the social chapter with the minimum wage, why does he make no effort to show that minimum wages are the culprit for unemployment in Europe. Inaccurate, because the German unemployment levels? And how does he explain the fact that since wages councils were scrapped in this country, employment in the industries covered by them has gone down rather than up?

Britain's apparently superior performance in reducing unemployment compared to France and Germany is due not to greater success in job creation, but to the greater numbers dropping out of our job market altogether — hardly a cause for self-congratulation.

And it is disingenuous of him to blame the Maastricht convergence terms for unemployment, when he has not criticised John Major's decision to adhere to those terms whether or not Britain was a single currency. Does Redwood advocate bigger budget deficits or higher borrowing than Major? Fiscal policies dictated by bankers produce unemployment, single currency or no single currency.

The Temporary Employment Committee of the European Parliament has shown how a single currency can be combined with sustainable economic growth by a European recovery programme financed by European Union Bonds. This would be entirely compatible with the Maastricht Treaty, would increase European competitiveness by modernising the infrastructure; and would increase the employment-intensiveness of European economic growth by boosting sustainable and community-based local enterprises, especially in new services meeting unmet needs in areas such as childcare, care for the elderly, and local transport.

(Cliff) Stephens Marks, 31 Marlborough Road, Oxford OX1 4LW.

A Country Diary

NORTH PEMBROKESHIRE: Pembrokehire echoes to the remains of a lost culture. Those early people built graves, erected standing stones and constructed protected living areas — forts, raths, castles. Sometimes during inclement weather I wonder what their lives were like. We visited one rath in a quiet piece of old oak woodland. Small oak trees, stunted by stony earth and westerly winds, have sundered the wall. Some grow in the ditch. We chose to approach it from below. Like most forts, part of its defence is based on a steep cliff. A track broad enough for a horse ascends at an oblique angle to emerge at the fort entrance between two rocky outcrops, one split by an oak which has been growing, falling, starting again for centuries. You step into a small circular enclosure no more than 30 paces across. As it hasn't been excavated your imagination can be vividly employed on the life of the small community that lived there. Now it's young oaks, bluebells and bracken. We

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The leaner, fitter way to tackle an evil trinity

AS YOUR article (Top scientists agree on global warming danger, June 6) notes, the evidence for global warming is too strong to ignore. And while it is clear we must lessen dependence on fossil fuels, this does not necessarily spell disaster for people in this country. Evidence is growing that as we have become more dependent on fossil fuels, our levels of physical activity have

Large numbers of people are unemployed

decreased, with increased risk of obesity and heart disease. Many health organisations are urging us to take (even moderate) exercise. A move towards active transport by walking and cycling can reduce CO₂ emissions while helping to deliver a fitter, healthier population. Similarly, considerable quantities of fossil fuels are wasted heating inadequately insulated homes. Meanwhile

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John Major 1950

After a week in the firing line, JACK STRAW refuses to back down over imposing curfews on young children I have a dream – and I don't want it mugged

NEXT week sees the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality. Labour's three race relations acts, each successively tougher, have worked to secure a profound change in the culture of race relations in our society.

block Labour's Race Relations Bills, they did so on the grounds that they were illiberal measures which would restrict individuals' freedom of speech. The power of the state, they said, should not be used to interfere with people's "liberty" to decide for themselves who they liked or disliked, whom they would serve in a pub, or to whom they would give a job.

The next Labour government will strengthen further our race relations legislation. And as Labour MPs on a free vote, it is my fervent hope we will also secure a lowering of the age of consent for gay people to 16, and an end to the ban on gay and lesbian people in the military.



It will not do for Straw [left] to defend curfews by saying that he is a liberal. He can keep his big stick, but he needs to tread more softly. *New Statesman*

Constable Jack Straw has got his truncheon out again. The only people who can or should tell teenagers when to come home are their parents. *Daily Express*

New Labour loves flexing its muscles. It is tough on infants playing on the street after dusk. The only thing it is not tough on is the economy. *Larry Elliott, The Guardian*

I have great reservations that one can enforce responsibility on parents. *Tony Butler, Chief Constable of Gloucestershire*

family support and training, do so with a set of social norms to guide them.

But at present there is very little parental counselling and education. Measures are sometimes taken too late, and without effective community support — which is where the curfew proposal comes in.

Under this proposal, a council with the agreement of the police could declare a curfew in respect of children 10 and under in a particular area.

They would only do so with the backing of local residents, in all probability at their request. The process would be a collaborative one, in which the community — especially the parents — was involved in collective discussion about the behaviour they wished to see and about other measures needed to strengthen family support.

about young people's behaviour. But if after all this process of community discussion, agreement and help, some parents still let young children out on the streets late at night, is it not reasonable for society to step in?

Such intervention is surely better than allowing these children to decline into delinquency through neglect and disinterest. As for whether such a scheme would work, let it be piloted. The risk is small, the potential benefit very great.

I have always thought adults should be able to live their lives as they think best. But bringing up a child cannot be a wholly private act. Such an approach is no more "authoritarian" than that of our race relations legislation. Giving children the chance to grow up in a secure and orderly way, in which adults take responsibility for them, is one of the greatest freedoms we can secure for the young and for our future.

few people. The Times commented in 1971 how much law and order had "slipped back as a Conservative priority". When I became MP for Blackburn in 1978, I rarely received any complaints about crime and disorder. Today, I have harrowing stories from my constituents about how their lives have been wrecked by disorderly neighbours and their children, who appear to have little or no conception of their responsibilities to others.

Of course, many of the social and economic forces which have helped create dys-

functional, disorderly communities are entirely external to those trapped in these communities, whether victim or perpetrator of that disorder. Of these forces, the collapse of dignified work for under-skilled young men has been the most potent — which is why one of Labour's first priorities will be to provide work or training for all unemployed young people and action to tackle the scourge of long-term unemployment.

And, as the product of a single-parent family, I have nothing but contempt for those who suggest single

mothers or fathers are to "blame". But analysis must lead not to paralysis, but to action. To take the specific issues which I raised last weekend — there is a growing problem of children, out on the streets, late at night. It is first and foremost, an issue of child protection. But the behaviour of these children can contribute to crime in an area.

Hand-wringing, wishing the world were different is no answer. What we do know is that a failure in the relationship between parent and child is one of the key factors which

can lead young people into crime. Is it "authoritarian" to intervene early and effectively to prevent that happening? Hardly. Successive, all-party children's legislation places clear responsibility for the upbringing of children on parents.

Where parents fail to meet their parental responsibilities the state can, and does, intervene and can even take the ultimate step of removing a child altogether from its parents. And social services departments, and voluntary agencies where they provide

Lisa Clayton made her name sailing alone around the world and has now written a book about it. She would like to talk about her experiences if only her business partner, Peter Harding, would let her get a word in edgeways



'I grew to like myself better', says Clayton
PHOTOGRAPHY: GARRY WEASER

Voyage round my minder

The Joanna Coles Interview

The scene: A mid-week afternoon in Birmingham. A small, curiously bare, magnolia office.

Cast: Lisa Clayton: Small, pretty honey-blond, aged 37, single, who now spends her time giving "motivational talks" after sailing around the world unassisted in 285 days. Although the yachting establishment initially doubted her achievement, her world record was completely ratified last July. Her voice is surprisingly girlish. Peter Harding: Handsome divorcee in mid-forties. Formerly a promotions expert with Birmingham Council. Organised sponsorship for Lisa's trip and now runs their joint promotions business, Clayton Harding Associates, whose office it is. During Lisa's voyage, they were in daily contact by fax, some of which are published in Lisa's new book about the voyage. Joanna Coles: A journalist trying to interview Lisa about

the volume in question, *At The Mercy Of The Sea*.

Props: Two desks, small table, four office chairs, one model classic car. Harding remains behind desk. Clayton and Coles sit round table. The interview is proving difficult because Harding keeps interrupting.

Scene one: 1:45pm Coles: You mentioned you do some work for Land Rover? Lisa: They have Discovery days at stately homes where they learn to drive off road. I'm there to welcome them, you know, "You don't know what you can do until you've tried..."

Harding: It's a taste of adventure for them isn't it? Lisa: Yes, it's... Harding: It's believing in the product, sorry to interrupt, but if we didn't believe in it then you wouldn't endorse it. You can't afford to, we have a nice rapport with Land Rover.

2pm Lisa: We get 30 to 40 requests a week, sometimes I have two or three events a day. Harding: We have we? Lisa: I had two days off at Christmas.

Christmas: Harding: (Picking up office diary and reading random entry) Woman's lunch in Birmingham... Esther Rantzen show... Gainsborough Hotel for an annual women's dinner... bank manager... Coles: (To Lisa) How much do you charge?

Harding: What you want to say to some people is "Would you come and work for me for free?" No, you wouldn't!

2:15pm Coles: Did you predict such wide interest on your return? Lisa: I hadn't given it a thought. I didn't know how far I would get or if I would come back! I wanted to sleep for three weeks.

Harding: We only realised how big it was when you got back, that was when we realised wasn't it? Lisa: I had some idea... Harding: We had some idea. Lisa: Because Peter was inundated with letters. (One from Prince Charles inviting her to a garden party at Highgrove.)

Coles: Did you go? Lisa: Mmm... Harding: Yes it was fantastic. Lisa: Yes I went... Harding: We've been very lucky, the people that we've met. You look back on it and you think "Crikey! Got to savour the moment!" I wrote to Prince Charles to say I liked his speech about putting the great back into Britain. We're a great nation, but we're not selling ourselves.

2:30pm Coles: (To Lisa) How did the voyage affect Peter's life? Lisa: It totally wrecked it. Harding: Totally wrecked it. Lisa: Peter's divorce happened when I was away. Peter's got a house with a girl, but that's not going too well

(gestures round office), probably because of all of this. Harding: The trip took over my life. It took over. I couldn't fax her and say "Hi Lisa, it's a lovely day here in Birmingham. I'm popping off to Wales for the weekend." I couldn't.

Lisa: I kept saying to Peter "If I were you I'd go". Harding: ... I kept thinking it's my baby, you've got it this far, I've got to coax it and do all I can. Coles: The book reads like a love affair by fax. Lisa: I wish I'd realised that...

Harding: Our relationship is like having a car that's running well. When you go in for a service you don't say, "Strip the engine." You say, "I just want the oil changed."

2:45pm (Harding leaves to make "an awkward phone call") Coles: What made you decide to sail the world? Lisa: Reading Naomi James's book. I was never really content. I thought how wonderful to do something with your life like that. I'd never really tried before and it was the first time ever I had something I had to do. Nothing else mattered.

Coles: And were you satisfied afterwards? Lisa: Yes, to an extent. I grew to like myself better. Before, I thought I've done okay in life, but underneath there was a fear that I might be a failure. I was lacking something... Harding: (Cheerful as he remembers and interrupts.) Everybody has an Everest don't they?

3pm: Lisa: I never sit and think about the trip. I did have problems writing about the really bad storm (where she capsized seven times). I kept putting it off. Harding: (Brightly.) The worst thing in life is to relive a bad experience. I was the one receiving the faxes and it was bad enough for me!

3:15pm Lisa: (Explaining how Harding was her chief support.) I certainly wouldn't recommend to anyone else that there's just one person. Peter had this thing about the responsibility he felt. It would be much better if it was a team responsibility.

Harding: I'm one of those people that if I do something, I go with it. I helped to get her out there. What would Mr Jones down the road who put 50p in the pot think if she didn't come back? Coles: (To Peter) Are you a control freak? Lisa: Yes, yes he is!

Coles: Surely the whole point of sailing around the world is that you have no control. It's you against the elements, that's the point. Lisa: But Peter couldn't see it like that. I'm not being funny Peter, but you are a control freak. Peter likes to be in control of everything!

3:30pm Harding: I have a dream, a passion for Wales. I'd like a weekend retreat to get away from Birmingham. Lisa: I'm not being funny, but that's another example. It's got to be Wales. If I wanted to go away for the weekend I'd think "Where can I go that's nice", but with you...

Harding: ... Hang on, hang on... Lisa: No, it's got to be Wales. Harding: ... Mountains either side, herons, Snowdon in the background. I would like to do something with Lisa though, an expedition or something. Coles: But would you be any good on a boat, could you take orders? Harding: I've helmed!

Lisa: (Shaking head) Um, I don't know. I don't know... Harding: (Interrupting.) I've helmed her back from Plymouth! Coles: Could you take a long trip together? Lisa: No, no, he'd be fine for the first three weeks then Peter would know it all and he'd be saying "Why are you doing it like that? I'll do it". I'm not being funny...

Harding: I bring people in who are experts. I can do it myself, but if someone else can do it better, you bring them in. No matter how much I sail I'll never catch up with Lisa in the short term, but I might be a better sailor than Lisa...

3:45pm Lisa: I'm not being funny, Peter would be fine while he was picking it up, but that would be it. Then he'd know it. Harding: (Accusatory) You're the same. Lisa: Yes I am, that's why I know...

Harding: We're both strong individualists. We both like to be in control. When I worked for the council, people would say "Why are you always first in the car park every morning Peter?" Because it suited me! (In motivational mood.) You talk to a team to 5pm person and you think "Don't just sit there, if you have something to say, put it in writing and move it forward! Move it forward!"

Lisa: I used to get in at 7am at Horizon (the travel company she worked for once). I don't sleep well these days. I go to bed about 10.30pm and I'm up at 2.30am. Harding: I was up at 1am this morning.

4pm Coles: (Exhausted) By the way, what happened to the cuddly toys (two teddies and a stuffed dog called Bernard) that you took on the trip? Harding: Oh, they've their own story to tell! Of what they saw — whales and sharks and the Duke of York. A nice little angle for a children's book, that.

TEST DRIVE YOUR BRAIN



- WALK () NEXT
- ZERO () CALF
- EVEN () ADDS
- KNIT () INTO
- CLAD () FLEE
- KERB () YELP
- GERM () ROAD

On each line place a letter in the space which, when substituted for the first letter of the word either side, will form another word in each case. The seven letters used will give another word reading downwards. What is it?

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Views from the melting pot

Radio

Anne Karpf

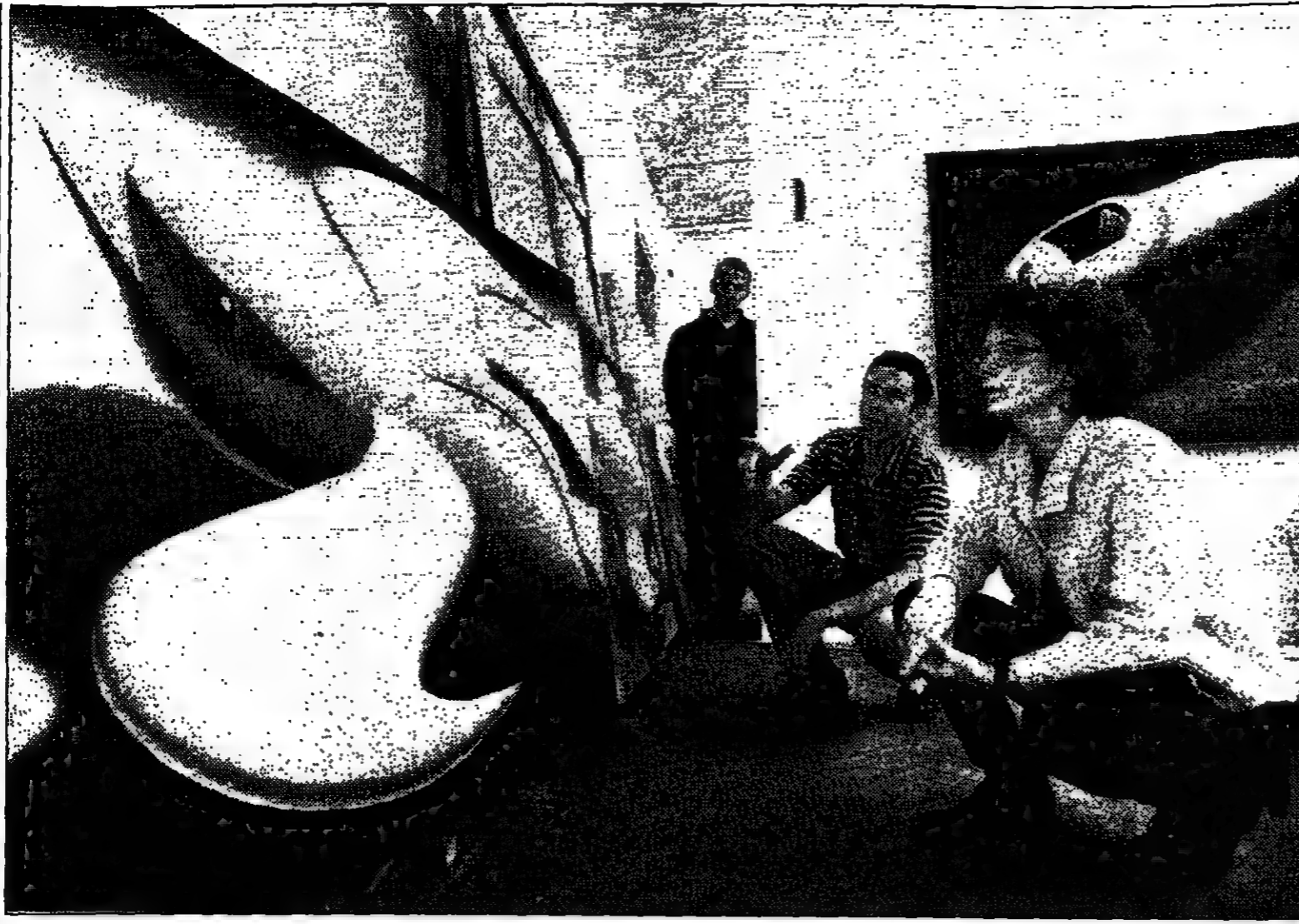
AN ASIAN stand-up comic, a female Chinese lawyer, and a racist Brummie — what do they have in common? They all appeared in last week's Radio 5 Live season, *Have Around The UK* (which ends tomorrow). With more than 40 programmes broadcast over nine days, the season has marked the network's coming of age.

I approached it with trepidation — there's little more deadeningly worthy than the term "multi-cultural". Would this be white reporters cooling over the exotica on our doorstep? Most of the programmes avoided this, many by having ethnic minority presenters, although the opening programme, *The Big Picture*, presented by Trevor McDonald, did have its lapses with reporter Wendy Robbins's breathless "Gosh, that's fantastic" approach to ethnic communities.

Would it be a depressing catalogue of racism? Certainly, and properly, this was part of the season: according to Silent Screams, the last Home Office statistics recorded 130,000 racist attacks a year, and we know that such attacks are vastly under-reported. The programme eschewed sloganeering for a more sophisticated analysis, examining the case both for a new offence of racial violence and against it, on the grounds that sufficient laws already exist. Only the Crown Prosecution Service made use of them.

The season reflected the enormous diversity of ethnic groups — as well as Afro-Caribbeans and Asians, we heard from Italians in Bedford and Chinese in Liverpool — and the differences between them. Two excellent programmes explored current heated debates within black communities: *Sisters Are Doing It For Themselves* looked at the "ambition gap" between young black women in the professions and managerial positions, and young black men, most of whom aren't. Yet this was no gloom. *Black Power* was a black hour of glorification, but an unblinkered examination of the paths open to black men, some of whom argued that black women are advancing because white men feel less threatened by them. Similarly, *I'm Not An Uncle Tom* scrutinised accusations that Frank "know what I mean, Harry" Bruno is an Uncle Tom, playing the fool for white TV viewers. Footballer John Barnes suggested that we should abandon such terms because they rely just as much on stereotypes as Uncle Tomery itself.

The Rushdie Legacy took the view that the Satanic Verses affair emboldened Muslims in Britain to develop a strong sense of identity. Now when did you last hear that said loud and clear on the radio? Far more depressing were the racist attitudes vented in *Us And Them* by "poor, white trash" views that are widespread but rarely get such unfiltered expression on the airwaves. By the end, one was struck by ironies and insights galore about race in Britain. And by the fact that nowhere else, outside BBC Radio, could such a season have been mounted.



Psst, want to be an artist?

How do the selectors of the Royal Academy's Summer Show and the Whitechapel Open decide which unknown artists get to show their work? LYNN MACRITCHIE finds out

IN THE darkness, two black squiggles float on a blue background. A projector clicks and another two squiggles appear. Another click, more squiggles. "I've suddenly hit an indecisive patch — shall we stop for tea?" Mark Sladen suggests. It is late afternoon in a windowless room at the Whitechapel Gallery in east London, and three of the gallery staff, selectors of this year's Whitechapel Open show, are taking a well-earned break. Around them, carousels filled with slides are stacked four deep. It is Thursday, and they are giving a second look to 120 entries, whittled down since Monday from an original 833, and needing to be out by another 40. Since each artist can submit six slides, that makes 4,998 slides in the two-dimensional category alone. Not to mention 187 entries in sculpture, 81 proposals for installations, and 51 entries in the film and video section.

Curator James Feto's eyes are so tired he can't wear his contact lenses. "Last night I went straight to the cinema from here. I can't believe I did that..." wails community education officer Janice McLaren. It gets to them — all those hours in darkness, snacking on junk food and drinking coffee. Selecting is not a glamorous business.

Ever since the Royal Academy began it all with its first Annual Exhibition in 1769, "open to all artists of distinguished merit, where they may offer their performance to public inspection and acquire that degree of reputation and encouragement which they shall be deemed to



deserve", early summer in London has been a nail-biting time for artists. There were no public art galleries in Britain until 1814, and the annual RA show, still the largest open contemporary art exhibition in the world, was the only place that the work of living artists could be seen. The show's impact was enormous, and began the tradition of open summer exhibitions. At the Whitechapel, founded in 1901, the first "East End Academy" open to "all those living or working east of the Aldgate pump" was held in 1932.

In the RA building in Piccadilly, the selection committee of 10 academicians sits in the airy white and gold grandeur of Gallery Three, where a human chain of RA students passes the 10,000 or so submitted paintings from hand to hand in a Mexican wave of artistic endeavour. Artists from all over the world submit work in the hope of experiencing the "magic carpet effect".

Leonard McComb, Keeper of the Royal Academy Schools, tells how one collector, impressed by a painting by an unknown artist hung in the show, sought her out in her gloomy basement and bought all her work, enabling her to move to a fine sunny studio in Clapham. Unknowns are lured by the glamour of history and the chance to hang beside honorary RAs such as Roy Lichtenstein and Frank Stella as well as British stalwarts, like Sandra Blow or Carol Weight.

Back at the Whitechapel, the projector clicks on. We're being blinded by art. This is what those fabled statistics about 5,000 artists in London's East End, the exhibition's

Judgment day... Above, an exhibit is assessed for the Whitechapel Open. Left, the Royal Academy, home to the Summer Show. The selectors may choose work because it makes them laugh and discard that which they consider too dull or too clever

MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID SILTOFF

catchment zone, really mean — thousands of paintings, sculptures, things, most of which may only ever be publicly exhibited for the few seconds it takes to click the projector's remote control — selector. Aren't they tempted to run away, or grab a projector load or two at random and ignore the rest? "Oh no, it's too much of a responsibility," Janice McLaren says. Fine, but that leaves the problem of how to choose. As the images click by, decisions are made quickly, with little argument. First time through, the selectors don't know the artists' names, although they may recognise the work. Familiarity doesn't guarantee inclusion, however, and they may even be harder on artists they know, concerned both not to be prejudiced and also to give others that elusive first chance. Work can be in for making them laugh, "making me think of Betty Rubble's hairdo", or out for being too dull or clever.

Watching, I can feel myself silently making the same choices, but unable to define why, and every effort to have to rely on a gut feeling, things that look fresh... these are the ones where the decision comes very easily. That's true. As an image fills the screen, either the heart sinks or the weary eyes light up, momentarily refreshed.

On-screen hits may be followed up by a studio visit to finalise the selection. At the RA, the painting selectors are looking for work with "a quality of excellence within its own terms", McComb explains. There, work is restricted to paintings, drawings and prints, as well as sculpture and architectural projects, all seen in the original. The Whitechapel includes works in all media, with installation projects chosen from written proposals. "The aim is somewhere in the middle of a good-looking show and a show that represents all that has been seen," Feto says. For McComb, the final Academy hang is "a marvelous fruitcake", which tries to give each painter "his own energy and space".

At both venues, the concept of open submission is prized by exhibitors. There was outrage when, in 1992, the Whitechapel, in a bid to increase the show's prestige, invited contributions from established artists. Royal Academicians have been permitted to invite others to show at the RA since 1991. This year it set up a panel to find ways of encouraging a wider range of artists to submit work. After howls of protest, it has yet to meet. The Whitechapel does not seem to suffer from such identity crises. It attracts work from artists who define themselves as

Crime for a laugh

Television

Stuart Jeffries

SINCE Friday night comedy became as funny as a Gordon Brown speech on recent developments in economic theory, it's been necessary to look for laughs elsewhere in the schedules. Fortunately, the glut of crime and emergency services dramas fits the bill.

The real Friday night comedians are Michael Gambon, Michael Buerk and Juliet Morris, whose moralising interludes between the reconstructed dramas are unwittingly hilarious. This week *Expert Witness* (ITV) opened with the camera sweeping past a leather sofa to Gambon looking pensively out of a desirable-looking warehouse flat before turning to the camera to begin his introduction. That sofa really gave the game away: it was a homage to Roald Dahl's *Tales Of The Unexpected* and Alfred Hitchcock should really think about giving Gambon an after-dinner Ravenna to suck on. Because that, in television tradition, is when murder stories get told: after dinner in a panelled room by a plausible fat man with a fat cigar.

Gambon is there to supply actorly gravitas and a wry sermon. What's funny is that the moral is beside the point: we want to be titillated not educated, but perhaps we will feel a little less unseemly in our voyeurism if it is prefaced by an edifying speech. "The more elaborate the criminal's plan, the more likely he'll be caught," said Gambon glibly between ruminative pinnacles. "So often it seems that crime is cleverer than the criminal." He made his speech in a spirit of high seriousness which made it even more laughable. But that hauteur is fundamental: crime doesn't play.

The ensuing story, about a debt-ridden man, Robert Marwick, who killed to claim the life insurance, pushed Gambon's moral home. But even a

very stupid crime would have been cleverer than this criminal: he taped his victim's voice so he could play it over the phone to her parents, thus making it look as though she was alive when the call was made, and providing him with an alibi. But he made the call from a phone box, where passers-by thought it odd to see someone playing a ghetto blaster into the receiver. Soon, as happens in these programmes, the story degenerated into a hymn to the forensic skills of an acoustic expert.

Based on a 1982 murder case, *Expert Witness* was scripted schematically but nonetheless tellingly. Next to the reconstructions of 999 (BBC1), this was understated stuff. 999 can never resist including the interlocking of the Public, who makes the job of the emergency services heroes even more difficult, and whose role is to make viewers tut with cross superiority. Here a coastguard, who was directing a rescue mission from the Brighton seatruck with a mobile phone, was interrupted by a bloke who demanded that the sissy coastguard should get into the water and do his job. Didn't he realise that to question the emergency services in action is as absurd as the bad guy who thinks he can stop Bruce Willis surviving into the final reel?

Part of the pleasure of 999 is putting oneself in a superior position: you would never drive while sleepy at 3.30am, would never go to bed without properly stubbing that cigarette out, would never forget to put a battery in the smoke alarm. Would you? And if you're the sort of person who would, Michael and Juliet are there to explain why you shouldn't, bless them.

In the reconstructions, the victims are played by actors while the emergency services heroes appear, like Lassie, as themselves. No wonder: who would want to see an actor grabbing a piece of the glory? Why otherwise would a real doctor who pulled the stake from a crashed driver's shoulder want to go through the trauma of doing so again in the reconstruction? Funny peculiar.

Reviews

CLASSICAL

Philharmonia/Svetlanov/Kissin
Festival Hall, London

ANY CONCERT by Evgeny Kissin now guarantees a full house, and there wasn't a spare ticket to be had for his first concerto appearance in London since he made his electrifying debut in April last year. Kissin appeared with the Philharmonia and Evgeny Svetlanov. It was an intriguing combination of Russian musicians — the 68-year-old conductor very much a product of the Soviet system, the pianist more than four decades younger and typical of the post-Soviet generation of artists in the way his career has been developed and promoted in the West — and one that worked marvellously.

The concerto was Rachmaninov's Third, and Kissin's exceptional account secured his place in the great tradition of the work's interpreters, from the composer himself through Horowitz, Ashkenazy and Argerich. It was a performance of many glittering facets — suggestive lyricism in

the opening theme, fearsome power in the first movement's climax, a scarcely credible evenness and lightness of touch in the faster episodes of the second. The finale was built wave upon wave to ever greater intensity, and the tension released in a flood of tone in the coda.

This was an interesting contrast with Kissin's recital at the Festival Hall three weeks ago, when his fearsome attack on everything in the programme suggested that, for all his brilliance, he had narrowed the scope of his playing. Here the dynamic range and tonal beauty were spell-binding, though the huge cadence erupted with volcanic energy and an encore, Rachmaninov's G minor Prelude, was unleashed with irresistible power. Svetlanov, who made his admiration for his young collaborator obvious, was content mostly to submerge his orchestra's contribution, providing a subdued and beautifully moulded accompaniment that left the piano in sharp relief; full weight was applied, though, for the final peroration to set the seal on an outstanding, all-encompassing performance.

Andrew Clements

DANCE

The Turning World
The Place Theatre

THE TURNING World's most recent shows have both been about transformation. Mathilde Monnier creates change from externals by ripping out the seating and turning the auditorium into a beautiful, white room. Izok Kovac, by contrast, occupies a stage that is only shabbily furnished, and works his transformations through tricks of the eye and mind.

The most important of these take place in his dancing bodies. Kovac's style in *Sting & String* has a hard edge that's softened and complicated by spruced folk rhythms and classical ornamentation, and within it he's very good at effecting magical shifts of vision. A solo phrase becomes dense and huge when it's danced by several bodies together. A phrase is speeded up so that its steps become a blur of energy, or a fleeting image in the choreography turns comically literal.

But much odder changes occur outside the dancers' control. One minute we're simply listening to music, the next we see a film of the musicians playing it. We think we spot a figure, hunched among the players, and when the film vanishes this gangling fellow is actually on stage. Cheer-

fully, illogically, he wanders around crouching Mississippi blues. And so it goes on, in a style that may sound like student anarchy. But the world's wit and timing are so tightly wired, and the personalities of its performers so believable that, for all its deliberate deconstruction, it creates a genuine, lovable world.

Unlike Monnier's crude imitation of mad people, *L'Atelier En Pièces*, which has little to recommend it other than the specially constructed theatre within a theatre in which it is performed. Made from thick white paper and lit from outside, this is an exquisitely austere and luminous space that encloses us and the dancers.

Often during the performance the latter come right up to our seats, gibbering and gesturing. Their proximity should make us both vulnerable and receptive. But there's little to respond to. Each dancer has a few "mad" routines of speech or movement which they perform tirelessly for 80 minutes. And though Monnier claims these are based on observations of real patients, she's developed them so scantily as drama or dance that we really don't care. What we do take away is the knowledge of what it's like being trapped — which gives us at least some inkling of the trauma of being in an institution.

□ The Turning World season continues at The Place (0171-387 0031), London WC.

Judith Mackrell

Where's the soul?

GABRIELLE'S smart. She's survived a No 1 debut single, and you don't do that without being smart, or getting very good advice. Dreams, the massive hit which could so easily have become a lead disc around Gabrielle's neck, was modern enough to be based around a sample, even if that sample was of

homespun folkie Tracey Chapman's *Fast Car*. Things have moved on so swiftly since then that Gabrielle could not have hoped to compete. Instead, she had the good sense to resurface with a single, *Give Me A Little More Time*, which carefully recreated the American R&B pop sound of the late sixties. This is the little

black dress of musical genres. Understated and tasteful. It suits any occasion.

Gabrielle, too, is understated and tasteful, fronting a large group of happily laid-back musicians on the small stage of London's Jazz Cafe; not so much a band as a soiree. The balcony is lined with murmuring diners, and it is an open question as to which accompanies which, the music or the food. The set is immaculate and bland, each

number cannily crafted to trigger the stylistic echoes that make a new song sound vaguely and agreeably familiar. Gabrielle doesn't go in for bravura displays of technique or rampant faux-emotionalism. Her forte is the brief, neat turn.

This is a technique in itself, and every effort to Live. It spurns the audience the embarrassing demand that they rise to the emotional pitch of the performer. To dismiss it as superficial or plastic would

be to misunderstand it. It's like a recent photograph, lovingly aged and sepia-toned by hand.

It's understandable that Gabrielle, having sensibly done away with her eyepatch, should have replaced it with an extravagant forelock. It gives her a sorely needed sense of mystique. She's obviously a clever lady. And being clever never had anything to do with soul.



David Bennun Gabrielle... well-crafted

Royal National Theatre

The Prince's Play

by Victor Hugo
music written and adapted by Tony Harrison

"A stunning performance by Ken Stott which catapults him into the major league"

Richard Eyre's exceedingly handsome production lavishly designed by Bob Crowley

"Steals the breath away... a memorable production"

Box Office 0171-928 2252

MICHAEL BILLINGTON hails Trevor Griffiths's new play

History in the making

THE TEST of any history play is whether it both pins down the past and reverberates in the present. Trevor Griffiths's *Who Shall Be Happy?* — presented by Belfast's Mad Cow Productions — triumphantly passes that test, dealing both with Danton's last days and the plight of the popular revolutionary in oppressive times.

This 90-minute two-hander is set in a Paris prison-cell in 1794: the height of the Great Terror. The prisoner, Danton, strives to keep alive his hope that the original liberating fervour of the Revolution is not extinct and that there may yet be an uprising on his behalf. He bribes his jailer, Henry, to smuggle out a coded letter entailing support. But Henry is

guided by his instinct for self-preservation and his doubts as to whether this is the real Danton or a lookalike decoy set up by the Committee of Public Safety. One of the many ideas Griffiths plays with in this piece is the extent to which revolution turns its protagonists into theatrical performers.

But Griffiths's most striking achievement is making the past a metaphor for the present. His Danton represents the plight of the Impassioned idealist who finds everything he believes in under attack: both from elitist tyrannies and from what Danton calls "the free dance of capital". If there is a guiding theme, it is of the inextinguishable nature of hope and of the belief that radical change must always operate

for the benefit of the many rather than the few.

Past, present and future blend with seamless fluidity. Griffiths also reminds us that a one-set two-hander can still tackle vast public themes: his own production embraces modern history and the eternal struggle for freedom. It also contains a stunning performance from Stanley Townsend whose Danton combines brawn, brain, sensuality and residual optimism and a deft one from Kulvinder Ghir whose jailer shows the canny cupidity of the new-model citizen. This is political theatre at its most intelligent and Griffiths's best play in years.

At the Bush (0181-743 3388), London W14, until June 29.

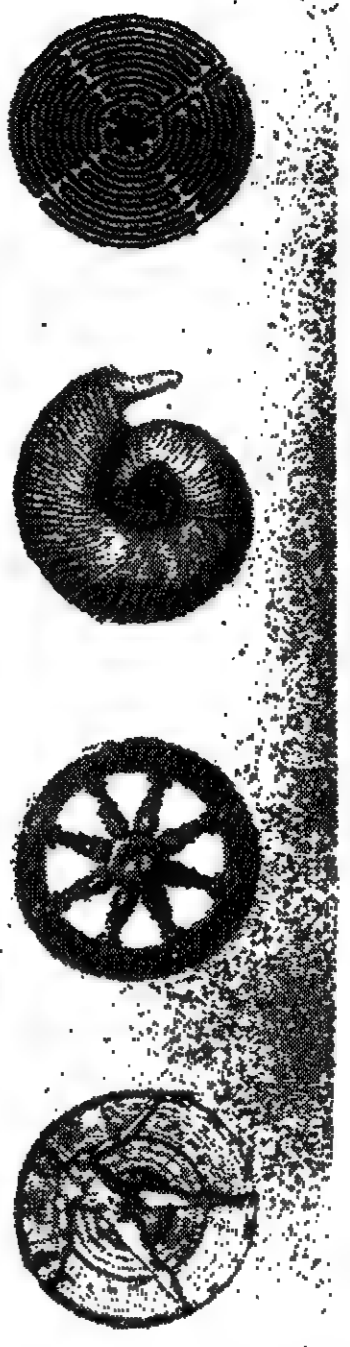
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The past is a lost channel

Television's infatuation with the present - the actual - is driving art and history to the margins of our culture, argues MELVYN BRAGG

Illustration: MATTHEW RICHARDSON



TELEVISION'S obsession with the present is exciting and successful and ultimately dangerous. It is the equivalent of the get-rich-quick fast-farming which so rapidly made an agricultural desert of so many fertile prairies.

Television does the present with such ease. It is the communication world's performance on the high trapeze. Is there a war? Television will be there. The Olympics are made for television — and, as some suspect, certain military skirmishes are too. A Caesarean birth, a breakdown, a scandal, a political disaster — Enoch Powell, that most erudite modern conservative, said that politics is not real today unless it is on television and there is not too much exaggeration there.

There seems something made for the instant about television. Even canned shows strive mightily for the sound of live laughter. You push the button and tune into now.

Recently on British television there was a little film about a man who had decided that television was better than life. He was a Scot — I say that to introduce the notion that he was not a slack-minded couch potato: in fact, he put up a spirited case.

What was going on in the town in which he lived was very dull — and the shots we saw proved it. By turning on television he could take part in a more real, a more vivid, a bigger world. QED. His wife Hoovered around him.

Even television's exercises in history tend to be rather simple-minded exercises in nostalgia — comforting on the one hand (what a lovely world it was then, with horses and crinolines and swords and honour and women in their place) and usefully, skilfully uneasy on the other hand — that we today have fallen so far, that there is a lost Eden, that we are still the children of the Fall, a profound conviction which characterises life

in civilisations outside and before our own Christianity which, of course made of it a pillar of belief.

But the present is not enough. Its surface excitement can not only become superficial — history, philosophy, poetry, all these are fully capable and have often proved themselves to be superficial — they can drag us into a quivering rootlessness, a nervous apprehensiveness and reliance on the next fix. If the present is all we have then we lose the often inadequate but clearly essential support system of what has gone before.

Does television owe the past a debt? Strictly, commercially, if the public is sovereign — no. Should it owe the past a debt? Of course you would expect me to say yes to that and I would like to delay that for a moment or two. If television owes its audience anything then the obligation is the same as that of print: to which the rough justice answer is — whatever is demanded.

"The public," wrote the German playwright Friedrich Schiller in 1784, "is now everything to me — my preoccupation, my sovereign and my friend". Now, because of its slow growth over half a millennium, serving various elites and fractions of society, being appropriated by religion here and revolution there, for so long in the hands of so few and those few most often those in power and authority or zealous subversives, print has a history which it still respects.

Academic publishing thrives as generously — some strictly commercial competitors would say more generously — thanks to hidden subsidies — as popular publishing. The rocket growth of knowledge, particularly in science, has been enabled by books, and this discipline and many other highly varied groups have dug in and taken a hold on the marketed imagination of print over many centuries.

Television is the biggest short-term fix in the history of information. It is the hit. I remember Martin Scorsese telling me that he was recording every day's television —

for a year so that he would have a true record, a profound insight into at least one year of his times.

But if television is not to succumb to the goodness of the soil with fast crops and the thoughtless economy solely of the short term return, it has to reinvent. It has to reinvent for its own future. If it merely serves up the present, its future is bound to be less and less rich because it will have no deep past to draw on.

You chop down trees for present use: you plant new trees for future store. You know which trees to plant because you have studied the past and so the forested world as we have known and assaulted and reclaimed it goes round for some more time.

Time to come out of the closet and say: yes. Yes to debt. Television does owe the past a debt which it needs to pay for many reasons, including its own survival. Without that payment, television — lacking the long and usefully tortuous history of print which has been intertwined in the heart of so many significant struggles of mankind to grow and prosper over the last 500 years — will risk being sidelined by makers and viewers alike as merely the quick fix, the easy option, the infant's comforter, the adult's childish thing, to be put away in the grown-up world.

Television can do this in many ways. My concern here is to make the case for the arts. On the surface, we do not have a promising situation. In much of the world, arts programmes are under pressure. Money is tighter and tighter in the USA and in much of Europe: ratings are relentless, the eagle feeding off the liver of Prometheus night after night and demanding more again day after day, the public interest in such programmes — almost everywhere off-peak on major channels — is declared to be marginal or even marginal (despite that interest often being expressed in millions of viewers). I am even informed that some media moguls have been overheard in their sleep to mutter — who needs them? Who

wants them? That same sovereign public.

Remember, this is just a case for the arts — history, social studies, politics, they will find their own champions. In some ways they need them less than the arts. Or they have found them already. Ted Turner, for instance, is currently backing a mammoth 20-part series on the history of the cold war.

Could we find a similar champion outside the few exceptional subsidised TV systems — for which we give much thanks — in Europe? Perhaps from the great tradition of American philanthropy a Carnegie of our time — Bill Gates is almost within earshot — will see the future through the establishment of a well-funded, commissioning, creative arts channel, which will be his surest memorial as art has been again and again throughout history.

Or is it possible that those who influence those moguls who control the great media networks will find a space in their imagination for, well, imagination?

WOULD it not be boldly imaginative to be the first patron-cultural sultan of the people's medium? After all, the sacred salute in centuries gone by, got their rewards for dedication to the many, to the mass of the earth. It is not at the moment as fashionable around the millionaire glittering cocktail — or rather, selective mineral water — circuit, but wouldn't it be a marvel-

ous, modern and lasting thing to do, especially in the New World — to bring culture lavishly and ungrudgingly to the people of the television age?

In short — by way of a playful digression, perhaps, but one which could if taken up have enormous and beautiful consequences — could not those in charge of the schedule on the main channels in your worlds and mine be persuaded to give the arts a chance?

So many people are now interested in the arts. Like the character in Molière who did not know that what he was speaking was prose, millions of people who are absorbed for instance in movies and music of many varieties are open to the past and to the works of the imagination. They are collaborators in art — just as Borges saw his ideal reader to be.

The idea of a past which has a present tense is easy in their minds. Were television more fully to exploit that — as it tries to do in some places already — then this would be one way of giving acknowledgement to a depth of interest which could be a storehouse for the future. For it has so very often happened that the dynamic future has only come from a willingness to understand and rework the past — which is what that most tumultuous liberator, the Renaissance, meant. At the very least, arts programmes could stop the shattering, protective sand dunes from sliding out to sea.

Let me now steer towards a conclusion with some particular

examples taken, for obvious reasons of convenience, from my own experience.

What could arts documentary programmes bring, what parts could they reach that are reached by no other programmes, what do they reveal that matters?

A very great deal. When David Lean — whose films, on television, the bombing left of all movies, all schoolboys have seen — talks about Noel Coward and the second world war and the craft of the long shot and the whole hinterland of working with actors, then, I believe, people listen and learn in the best of all possible ways, without feeling force fit.

A direct line is established to a British theatrical tradition, a tradition of skills and moreover the complexity of a loved work — a movie — is outlined in a way which enables viewers, particularly younger viewers, to glimpse at least the complexity of the adult work-world.

When Stephen Spielberg speaks of his childhood obsessions in films we can see, again in the work of someone we, the viewers, have enjoyed and respected, the power of devotion needed to carry through a singular work: it is like a boy being able to watch, daily, one of the sculptors working on the Cathedral of Autun and understanding what is involved so that he too could go on and attempt the same.

For the burden of this piece is that television's future growth must lie in a steady cultivation of the past. What will viewers be to television strangled as it could become in an eternal present with viewers increasingly surprised that there was a second world war. Let alone a first, let alone the Holocaust, the Bolsheviks, Robespierre, Newton, the Puritan Fathers, Chartres Cathedral, Alfred the Great, the Roman night, the Greek mind.

This is far from fanciful. To expand a market you develop a taste and as the market of television is the world past and present, to miss out the

past, to underinform, is to restrict your possibilities.

There is also, some believe, no little responsibility in using this extravagantly popular medium to grow the awareness of the population.

I suppose television could rely on schools to do this, or on print or radio, but to rely on others to do the seeding work is a doomed short-termism, which so many other industries have realised, often too late. Television's wide reach as a mass informer means that it should take up more of the share of stocking up for the future, not less.

SOUND BITES and tokenism rot the system as surely as an unalleviated diet of cakes and sweets. Television is at last the very medium of democracy. Democracy is having trouble discovering those willing to patronise and develop its higher instincts — no problem at all in finding those keen to exploit the power of its lowest or most commercial common denominator.

Yet if it wants to dig into the deeper sympathies and habits of viewers, it must dig into those parts of the mind and the imagination which currently it fears because big audiences do not automatically follow. Little screens is a very good thought. Nature has not done badly with it and the triumph of Darwinian theory shows, among much else, that struggle and innovative adaptation based on previous success leads to the real winners. A bland acceptance of the status quo is doomed.

So, arts documentaries and other documentaries and testing drama, and all of that much more regularly plumb in the middle of peak-time, big channel schedules? Why not? Suck it and see. Look at Gulliver, which has just surprised us all. Arts, of course, being only one of many ways to develop an audience for the future through the creative accounting for the past.

And television is creative — whether it accepts it or not — already in its brief span there

Melvyn Bragg is Controller of Arts at London Weekend Television where he is responsible for the South Bank Show and an eight-part series with Simon Rattle on the history of 20th century music now in production. He has been the presenter of Start-the-Week on Radio 4 for the past seven years. His most recent novel is *Credo*, a 7th-century epic



سكزا من الاصل



Lovely on the water: Peter Bird on the Serpentine, London, a confined space for an ocean man

PHOTOGRAPH BY KENNETH SALINGER

Peter Bird

Down to the sea again

PETER Bird's last and most difficult project came to an end this week when his 20-foot craft Sector II, on route from Russia to North America, was captured by a ship responding to a mayday call.

An ocean rower of great experience, Peter was meticulous when it came to safety, and until the boat was examined it was not known why the craft didn't self-right itself as it had done in the past.

St Mary's, Cadogan Square. He left school at 15, completely unqualified, and went into an advertising agency as a general dogbody.

rower to have crossed the Pacific was not enough for Peter. He could not settle. As if hooked by some exotic drug he sought the next fix.

and forebodings. Polly understood his motives. She found it difficult, but she didn't stop him.

Glyn Worsnip

Lone broadcast voice

GLYN Worsnip, who has died aged 57, carved a wayward yet cheerful path through the arts and media for nearly 30 years.

period as a gaily reporter and commentator in BBC Current Affairs. Although his regular contract was painfully terminated, Worsnip's freelance prospects looked good, until illness.

followed. Worsnip reported in 1991: "I can't now stand or walk without support. I can only write and read a few words at a time. I am tired of living, and scared of dying."



Glyn Worsnip: 'I am tired of living, scared of dying'

in student revue and cabaret, and I used to patter around his glamorous shadow.

Face to Faith

We need sects education

RIGHT now a new wave of anti-sect paranoia is sweeping the world. All ruling bodies, political parties and the media seem unanimous in their suspicion and hostility towards sects and any group of people labelled a "sect" are automatically viewed with prejudiced eyes.

of "breaking away from the references normally acknowledged by society." Does that rule out alternative medicine, education, clothing and toothpaste?

when it is my turn, and I work in the community without financial reward.

deparatory comments. The article is prefaced with an editorial which says: "There is no such thing as an harmless sect." Pontius Pilate would have heartily agreed.

to want to do this, given that most come from less-than-perfect societies. Unhappily, some track should be kept of religious communities — more monitoring of Aum Shinkyō and the Order of the Solar Temple might have

Jack Massey

The green grass courts of the early morning

JACK Massey, who has died aged 85, taught himself to be one of the finest tennis groundsmen in the world, bringing the 18 grass courts of the Northern Tennis Club to such perfection that Wimbledon staff took the train to Manchester to ask his advice.



Manners spanned the Tournament era of Little Mo Connolly, Billie Jean King and Jimmy Connors

mill where it had been woven or the thread spun. This talent transferred to grass, with its multiple varieties, when Jack joined Edwin as a part-time assistant following fire service in Manchester during the second world war.

and a voracious appetite for new knowledge which made Massey a supreme custodian of grass. Although he was to see the Northern Tournament decline in prestige, as highly paid stars on the international circuit bridled at leaving London, his work was known throughout the tennis world and the All-England Club visited to examine his technique in the sixties.

Weekend Birthdays



THERE'S an account of Johnny Depp, 33 tomorrow, on location for Arizona Dream, reading the lost of Dostoevsky and wearing emphatic black. He sounds endearing, as if he were working his way through a correspondence course in Vernacular Romanticism — you know, first term you drug and drink and get into pissing matches with Iggy Pop, second semester you are eaten by a bed in a Freddy film and become a famous teen wet dream playing a narcos cop on Fox TV, then you have to swoot up the Marlon Brando profiles and attempt variants on bodybuilding, like hanging from the side of the Los Angeles Beverly Centre by your fingertips, trashing a hotel room and hashing a Canadian security guard.

Clerach, fashion designer, 44; Michael Codron, theatrical producer, 66; Prof Alice Coleman, geographer and urban planner, 73; Prof Francis Crick, biologist, physicist, DNA discoverer, 80; Julie Driscoll, singer, 49; Hugh Faulkner, director, Peruvian Virus Disease Research Foundation, 89; Earl Ferrers, junior, environment minister, 67; Dudley Fishburn, Conservative MP, 50; Helen Fraser, publisher, 47; Gwen Harwood, poet, 78; Ray Illingworth, cricketer, chairman, England selectors, 84; Prof Sir Michael Levey, art historian, 79; Lady Shirley Liffiter, chairman, the Gaming Board, 84; Millicent Martin, actress, 62; Prof Terence Morris, criminologist, 65; Tony Mottram, tennis player, 78; Doug Mountjoy, snooker player, 54; Alison Moyet, rock singer, 35; Sir Cranley Ouslow, Conservative MP, 70; Sir Eric Parker, former chief executive and co-founder, Trafalgar House, 63; Brig Gael Ramsey, Commander, Aldershot Area (Army), 54; Nick Rhodes, rock keyboard player, 54; Joan Rivers, entertainer, 69; Nancy Sinatra, 58; Norma Shaw, bowler, 58; Dr Robert Stevens, master, Pembroke College, Oxford, 63; Martin Taylor, chief executive, Barclays Bank, 44; John Thompson, former Director of Radio, IBA, 67; Marjorie Thompson, former chair, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 39; Norma Shaw, bowler, 58; Derek Underwood, cricketer, 49; Dame Anne Warburton, head of EC Commission on war crimes against women in Bosnia, 62; Graham Watson, literary agent, 63.

Death Notices

HARTLEY, Brian Joseph Harvey, C.M.G., C.B.E., died peacefully after a long illness in Monmouth, Wales on Wednesday 8th June 1995.

Acknowledgments

Grateful thanks to St Jude for request granted.

In Memoriam

NEEDHAM, Jo, would have been 28 on Sunday. Her joyful spirit survives in all who love her.

Memorial Services

GUDDER, A Thanksgiving Service for the late Mrs. G. Gudder will be held in the Chapel of Emmanuel, Cambridge on Thursday 15th June at 11.30 am.

Doonesbury



BY GARRY TRUDEAU

Savers of sun... Costs...

Test cases...



Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom center of the page.

Money Guardian

Savers feel pain of surprise cut

Teresa Hunter

BRITAIN'S nine million mortgage borrowers will this weekend be celebrating the lowest borrowing costs for 31 years but it is not all good news on the home front.

The Inland Revenue yesterday underlined the fragility of any recovery in the housing market, reporting that the 1 per cent drop in mortgage rate over the past six months has not pushed prices up, except in some pockets of the country. Furthermore, the number of purchases has declined over the same period.

This confirms the picture painted by the Halifax Building Society when it rushed to cut its mortgage rate in the wake of the Chancellor's move. It reduced its standard rate by 0.28 of a point, to 6.99 per cent, setting the benchmark for smaller competitors. The Woolwich, Alliance & Leicester, Barclays, NatWest and Britannia were among those which followed the Halifax, with the Abbey National charging the slightly higher rate of 7.04 per cent on smaller loans.

Mortgage institutions which have pledged to remain building societies rather than convert to banks have set their rates even lower. The Bradford & Bingley has a new low rate of 6.74 per cent, while the Century has dipped even lower to 6.24 per cent for savers of five years' standing. The Nationwide, which already has a 6.74 per cent lending rate, is reviewing charges to borrowers.

Direct Line, which recently began selling mortgages over the telephone, cut its mortgage rate to 6.05 per cent.

But lower rates for borrowers mean even smaller returns for savers, although those institutions committed to mutu-

Costs fall on home front

Monthly saving on a 25-year repayment mortgage (with Miras)
Rate: 6.99 per cent unless shown otherwise

	Monthly repayment £	Monthly saving £		Monthly repayment £	Monthly saving £
Halifax			Coveyent (6.24%)		
30,000	194.99	4.12	30,000	182.83	3.85
60,000	402.46	9.13	60,000	382.88	8.58
90,000	616.80	14.17	90,000	582.93	13.30
Abbey			Britannia		
30,000 (7.04%)	195.27	3.96	30,000	194.47	3.96
60,000	402.45	8.77	60,000	402.45	8.74
90,000	616.79	13.62	90,000	617.71	13.62
Woolwich			Direct Line (6.05%)		
30,000	194.48	4.12	30,000	177.98	3.00
60,000	403.97	9.09	60,000	367.50	6.62
90,000	617.59	14.14	90,000	569.98	10.32
Alliance & Leicester			Bradford & Bingley (6.74%)		
30,000	194.48	4.12	30,000	190.89	3.90
60,000	402.48	9.11	60,000	395.40	8.60
90,000	616.78	14.16	90,000	604.20	13.40

Coveyent rate for borrowers of five years' standing

ality have pledged to keep savings rates up where possible. Bournemouth-based Portman Building Society was yesterday warning savers to lock into fixed rates quickly before savings rates dive.

The Fortman Fixed Interest Bond remains open, for the time being at least, for savers with at least £500 to invest for a year. It pays 8 per cent gross, 4.5 per cent net. Similarly, Northern Rock is paying 7.5 per cent fixed on £2,500 invested until June 1999.

But both borrowers and savers might be advised to wait a few days before committing themselves to long-term investments or loans at fixed rates, because it was by no means clear yesterday which way the rates on these products will move.

While some lenders put their fixed-rate loans under immediate review, both the Halifax and Abbey were sceptical whether fixed mortgage costs would fall further. A

Halifax spokesman said: "The indications are that longer-term rates may rise following this latest base rate fall, which means that there may be little scope for fixed-rate mortgages to be cut."

Despite these reservations, competitive pressures are likely to push fixed-rate loans down to meet demand, because they are popular with customers. The best five-year fixed rates are currently above 7.25 per cent — well over the basic variable rate.

Giving customers what they want is crucial for keeping the housing market moving. The Halifax acted rapidly to bring rates down after the Chancellor's cut, in an effort to stoke up activity, which remains weak despite last month's annual house price rise of 4.8 per cent.

Fears are growing that last month's encouraging news on prices could prove a blip which might easily be reversed if prices fall in the

second half of the year, as they have for the past two years. Black Horse Agencies agrees with the Halifax that home owners need some additional incentives to move, after conducting a survey which shows serious shortages of houses in some areas.

Its estate agents found that 66 per cent of buyers have no property to sell, but 75 per cent of them are not first-time buyers. This is leading to a shortage of three- and four-bedroom houses.

The house price recovery in London has been patchy, according to the Inland Revenue, but houses in Tower Hamlets, Kensington, and Camden are selling for more than their asking price. Greenwich and Lambeth, weighed down by high repossessions, remain depressed.

The improvement in outer London is also sporadic, with Bromley, Barking, Wimbledon, Harrow and Enfield all buoyant.

In the North, prices have fallen in Sunderland, Middlesbrough and Ulverston. In the North-west, only Crewe saw any improvement, with the markets in Salford, Southport and Rochdale weakening.

Valuers in Southampton, Guildford and Brighton reported rising prices in the South-east. But repossessions are keeping the market flat in Bedford, while Chelmsford saw an increase in people handing back the keys. Similarly, properties in St Albans are struggling to find buyers, unlike Colchester, Aylesbury, Portsmouth and Eastbourne, where transactions were up.

In the South-west, activity is still falling, while the Welsh market has remained static. East Anglia has been static, too, apart from Cambridge, where moves and values have been strong within the city.

Money Guardian is edited by Margaret Hughes



Numbers game... BT's reduction in charges will be in part offset by line rental increase PHOTOGRAPH DAVID MANSSELL

Watchdogs sink teeth into household bills

Cliff Jones

HOUSEHOLD running costs are set to fall next year following pressure from two industry watchdogs. Telephone bills will come down by 4.5 per cent and gas bills will be almost £40 lower.

BT customers will save an estimated £125 million a year on their charges. But BT will recoup about £80 million when it increases line rental by 90p to £25.69 per quarter next year. Those most affected by the charges will be light users, who will find the new charges excessive if they make calls costing more than £12.69 and do not qualify for a 60 per cent discount. Heavier users should study the myriad of BT tariffs carefully.

BT's PremierLine tariff has an annual fee of £34, entitling customers to a 15 per cent discount on all direct-dialled calls and 5 per cent off calls to mobile phones and premium-

rate lines. Customers who spend more than £40 per quarter will break even. For every £10 on a PremierLine bill, customers earn one "Talking Point" which can be exchanged for air miles.

Option 15 takes 10 per cent off all direct-dialled calls and 5 per cent off calls to mobiles and premium-rate lines. Unlike PremierLine, which charges an annual fee, Option 15 has a running cost of 64 per quarter and a break-even point of £40 per quarter. BT's Friends and Family scheme gives 10 per cent off five numbers nominated by the caller.

BT is not the cheapest provider but emphasises that customers should study its many tariffs before deciding to switch to another service. BT customers can join Mercury's SmartCall service for a £5 quarterly fee and access the network by dialling 132. Mercury is cheaper for standard long-distance calls but BT's price can be reduced by various discount schemes. Mercury's local daytime rate is more than double that charged by BT.

Since April, half a million consumers in Devon, Cornwall and Somerset have been able to choose from nine suppliers. The competition is expected to bring down gas bills by an average £80 as rivals seek to undercut British Gas.

The complexity of this new competitive climate was highlighted yesterday by the disclosure that many people in the South-west had been overcharged by British Gas when they closed their accounts and moved to a new supplier.

● British Telecom: 150; Mercury: 0500 500 191; Dial 1602: 0171 757 7161; First Telecom: 0800 376 6666.

Tesco raises stakes in card game

Cliff Jones

TESCO will hold the 5 per cent interest rate on its revolutionary debit card despite Thursday's interest rate cut. The retailer said its "best buy" rate would not be reviewed until January 1997.

The Clubcard Plus payment card, launched on Monday, is linked to a Tesco deposit account which pays interest on credit balances. Customers can use their cards to make purchases or obtain cash at checkouts or from NatWest cash machines.

It will operate alongside the supermarket's existing loyalty programme which allows customers to collect points towards lower grocery bills.

The Tesco interest rate beats any UK low-balance instant-access account, but shoppers should remember that, despite the hype, this

is not a bank account. The rate is particularly attractive in the light of Thursday's base rate cut, which is expected to drag down bank savings rates further.

The Co-operative Bank pays 5 per cent gross interest on each pound in its Pathfinder instant-access account, but savers must open their account with £5,000 or set up a minimum of £100 in standing orders.

The interest rate on an "added value" account introduced this week by Barclays is just 0.3 per cent gross. The Additions account also charges a £5 monthly fee for which you get perks such as a free will-writing service and a 24-hour legal helpline.

Bradford & Bingley Building Society pays 0.25 per cent on its instant-access account and Lloyds Bank pays 1 per cent on its instant savings account. Even the best instant-access rate from the bigger banks,

Midland's Saver Plus, pays only 2 per cent gross. But the Tesco scheme cannot be operated as a conventional current account. The card, for now, is a limited method of payment and cardholders will not be issued with chequebooks. The cards can be used for payment at B&Q do-it-yourself stores, which joined the Clubcard scheme in April.

Payments into the Clubcard account must be by standing order. Shoppers are allowed a credit limit equal to the amount paid into the account from their standing order.

Tesco says the maximum credit limit is £5,000, but this is available only to people who pay in more than £80,000 a year.

Customers who use the card to obtain credit are charged interest at 9 per cent. This rate is much lower than those of other storecards such as that offered by Next, which

charges 25.9 per cent, or Marks & Spencer, at 24.8 per cent.

Safeway has said that it is looking at a direct payment card to operate alongside its ABC loyalty card. Sainsbury has not reacted, but announced earlier this year that it would launch its own loyalty card in the summer.

Alliance & Leicester has dropped the annual percentage rate on its Giro Visa card from 22.9 to 21.9 APR. The society has reduced the rate on its Atlantic Visa gold card from 18.9 to 17.9 APR but annual fees, £12 and £10 respectively, remain unchanged.

Cheshire Building Society has entered the credit card market with its own Mastercard. The card has no annual fee and charges 18.9 APR. The society is offering 18.9 APR for six months to existing cardholders who transfer their balance from another card issuer.

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rate lines. Customers who spend more than £40 per quarter will break even. For every £10 on a PremierLine bill, customers earn one "Talking Point" which can be exchanged for air miles.

Option 15 takes 10 per cent off all direct-dialled calls and 5 per cent off calls to mobiles and premium-rate lines. Unlike PremierLine, which charges an annual fee, Option 15 has a running cost of 64 per quarter and a break-even point of £40 per quarter. BT's Friends and Family scheme gives 10 per cent off five numbers nominated by the caller.

BT is not the cheapest provider but emphasises that customers should study its many tariffs before deciding to switch to another service. BT customers can join Mercury's SmartCall service for a £5 quarterly fee and access the network by dialling 132. Mercury is cheaper for standard long-distance calls but BT's price can be reduced by various discount schemes. Mercury's local daytime rate is more than double that charged by BT.

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Mercury	7.45p/2.45p	6.4p/2.5p	28.1p/26.9p
Dial 1602	8.0p/2.9p	6.9p/4.0p	23.5p/22.5p
First Telecom	—	—	14.0p/10.0p

All prices exclude VAT. Table does not take into account BT savings schemes.

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SCOTTISH WIDOWS

Strong US jobs growth raises inflation fears and intensifies doubts about prudence of Clarke's decision

City pours scorn on rate cut

Notebook

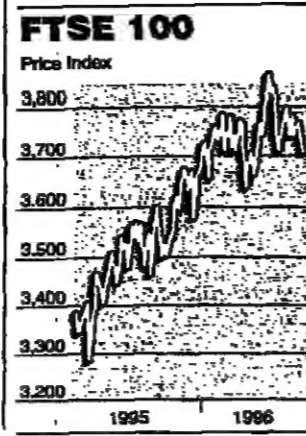
Wall Street ritual creates new peril

Paul Murphy in London and Mark Tran in New York

THE City yesterday blew a loud raspberry at Thursday's move by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, to cut a further quarter-point off interest rates — seizing instead on evidence from across the Atlantic that interest rates around the world will rise again soon.

sending tremors through the financial markets across the world. In the US, the benchmark 30-year bond fell more than two points, sending the yield above 7 per cent. Worries that the Federal Reserve will be forced to put up American interest rates quickly spread to the stock market in New York, where the main US index, the Dow Jones Industrial Average, fell more than 80 points in early trading.

news that almost 350,000 new jobs were created in May — double analysts' predictions — while the US government



also revised April's job creation figure sharply higher, from 2,000 to 153,000. While the Dow Jones later clawed back some of its losses as curbs on computer trading were introduced in New York, analysts in London were warning that a spate of British economic statistics due to be published next week will be scoured for any evidence of inflationary pressure.

on July 2 to consider monetary policy and a debate is underway over whether the Fed chairman, Alan Greenspan, will move immediately to raise rates from their current level of 5 1/2 per cent, rather than waiting until later in the summer and risking a clash with the US presidential elections.

ation and agreed with Mr Clinton's assessment that there is little evidence of inflation. "This is a healthy report, with healthy jobs growth, although we know the Fed will interpret this as raising the danger of inflation," said Peter Krutmer, economist with NationsBanc Capital Markets. "We don't see in other numbers the beginnings of inflation."



Mark Milner

STOCK and bond market reaction to the release of monthly employment data from the US is fast assuming a ritual air. The Labor Department figures show the American economy creating more jobs than the economic analysts expected, leading to warnings about inflationary pressure which, the forecasters predict, the Federal Reserve will head off by increasing interest rates.

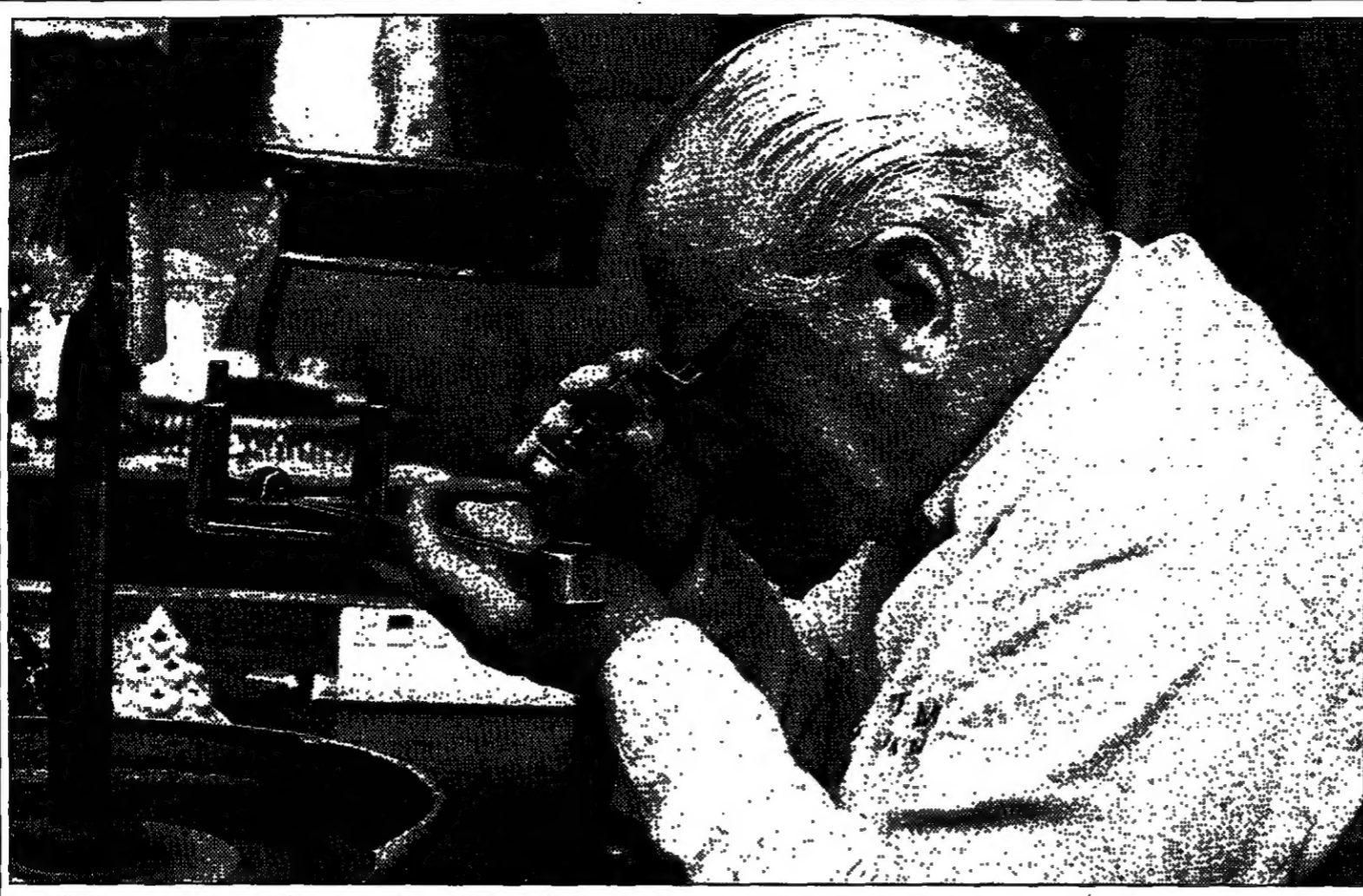
price since BBA decided to scratch, before coming under starter's orders as it were, shows that quite a few expectations have been dashed.

There is no doubt that in terms of size the deal will put Lucas/Variety comfortably towards the top end of the motor components groups which are expected to dominate the industry. Size alone will not be enough. The question will be whether the two will be more than the sum of their parts.

Biggest diamond mine quits De Beers

Dan Atkinson

THE world's biggest diamond mine yesterday pulled out of the De Beers gemstone cartel after months of bickering over prices and quotas. But the South African giant took the news calmly and insisted its international marketing grip would not be significantly weakened.



Sparkle dims... De Beers' decision to 'rebalance' diamond prices has hit Argyle, which mines mainly cheaper gems

the diamond business have left De Beers to fend for itself. The 56-year-old cartel, he said, would not be damaged seriously by Argyle's decision, nor was there any question of a "falling-out" between De Beers and RTZ.

with an average value of just \$5.50 a carat, against the \$55 a carat produced by some De Beers mines in Botswana. Half Argyle's output is used for industrial purposes, and the other half features mainly in the cheapest types of jewellery.

The CSO rejected suggestions that the pull-out could jeopardise the deal, signed on February 23 after tortuous negotiations, that kept Russia within the cartel. Russia, after De Beers, is the world's second-largest producer of diamonds by value; together they ac-

count for 76 per cent by value of world production. Argyle accounts for 6 per cent. Its current CSO contract runs to the end of the month, after which it will not be renewed. While wishing Argyle well, De Beers sources suggested the mine had helped depress the

prices for cheaper stones by its own high production levels. It opened in 1985 to produce 50 million carats a year, and now produces about 40 million. The CSO has seen defections before; Zaire left in 1982 and rejoined the following year.

Making a mark

HE who pays the piper calls the tune, but some of those involved in the European monetary union appear in grave danger of forgetting it. Take yesterday, for example. A senior Italian treasury official argued that the new European central bank, to be created as an integral part of European monetary union, should have an obligation to intervene on the foreign exchange markets to protect those EU currencies which had not signed up for the single currency.

The fall-out would be even worse if it were to come at a time when Wall Street had finally decided that its long bull run had run out of steam.

Beyond BBA

BA's announcement that it will not be making a bid for Lucas has left the company looking red-faced. Officially, BBA is saying that it decided not to go ahead with an offer because it had not been able to persuade sufficient Lucas shareholders to give their backing.

Small investor Eurotunnel

EMU membership, acceptance of the Maastricht treaty's provisions for financing countries that run up "excessive" deficits. The system, however, is expected to have more flexibility than Germany had wanted. For example, countries will be fined if their deficit "persists", although the ministers have not said for how long.

A Germany struggling to keep EMU insiders up to the mark — or the euro — is unlikely to have much sympathy with outsiders who run into difficulties.

Liquidators sue auditors over Leeson

Writs for more than £450m have been issued over Barings losses, says NICK CUMMING-BRUCE

THE liquidators of rogue trader Nick Leeson's Baring Futures (Singapore) operation are suing the auditors Deloitte & Touche and Coopers & Lybrand for "well over" \$700 million (£450 million), alleging negligence over their failure to expose the losses that eventually brought down Barings Bank.

the time of their audits. In Deloitte's case, this started at the end of 1992. The Waterhouse, which investigated the BFG scandal on behalf of the Singapore government, alleged in its report that Deloitte's auditors were aware of the "88888" account but did not examine Leeson's transactions on the year-end balance which was insignificant. The report said that Deloitte did not adhere to standard auditing procedures, by failing to review the transactions or to obtain independent confirmation of a balance prepared by BFG that later turned out to have been falsified.

BBA forced to drop Lucas bid plans

Sarah Whitebloom

SHAREHOLDER opposition yesterday forced BBA, the engineering group, to drop plans to bid for Lucas just two days after declaring an interest in acquiring the automotive components firm.

large shareholdings in BBA, were opposed to a counterbid by the firm and argued furiously that the idea should be dropped. Several shareholders, led by Robert Fleming, spoke publicly against the planned £2.5 billion offer — an extremely rare event in the highly secretive City.

BBA claimed it had dropped its plans because the price it would have had to pay for Lucas had risen along with the company's share price. BBA said: "We've withdrawn, or backed off for the moment, not because of a lack of industrial logic in the deal but because we don't think there is value there for us."

falls through. But City institutions were saying last night that any chance of the takeover plan re-emerging was extremely slim. "It's all up for a BBA bid, Lucas wants to do a deal with Varsity," said one leading fund manager.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 1.90	France 7.74	Italy 2.344	Singapore 2.12
Canada 16.12	Germany 2.200	Malta 0.5450	South Africa 8.52
Belgium 47.04	Greece 384.00	Netherlands 2.5050	Spain 193.75
Norway 5.85	Hong Kong 11.05	New Zealand 2.2450	Sweden 11.04
Cyprus 0.7050	India 58.83	Portugal 238.00	Switzerland 1.9700
Denmark 6.58	Ireland 0.9475	Saudi Arabia 5.76	Turkey 117.00
Finland 1.975	Israel 5.04	USA 1.5100	

Amicable returns £100m to tax-shelter investors

Cliff Jones

SCOTTISH Amicable has been forced by the Inland Revenue to hand back more than £100 million to 30,000 investors after its latest scheme for sheltering tax was declared illegal.

might circumvent the 55,000 annual subscription limit for the Amicable's trust was to invest the £5,000 allowance in the Pep and a further £44,000 in a split-level investment trust, the income from which would be held in a separate portfolio.

Gas bill rip-offs

Customers in competition trials overcharged, reports CHRIS BARRIE

GAS customers in the south-west of England have been charged "hundreds of pounds" for gas they never used, it emerged yesterday.

The overcharging occurred when consumers in the south-west switched suppliers. The region, which is being trialled ahead of full competition in supply in 1998, has seen some 40,000 consumers quit British Gas Trading (BGT), the supply arm, for rival suppliers.

News in brief

Boardroom clearout

Double the number of boardroom bans were made against unit directors of companies in the first three months of this year than in 1995, the Department of Trade announced yesterday.

Confidence builder

Building firm Taylor Woodrow yesterday said it saw early signs of confidence returning to the housing market, although margins were very tight and left little room for error.

Unhappy Spring

Spring Ram, the home improvements group, issued its fifth profit warning in three years yesterday. It said results for the first half of the year "will fall well short of the 1995 comparative" where profits reached £900,000. As a result, £3.4 million was wiped off the group's market value.

Tesco sales up 7pc

Tesco chairman Sir Ian MacLaurin told shareholders at the annual meeting that sales were 7 per cent up on last year, excluding business in new stores. Total sales were 13 per cent higher than last year. Sir Ian said petrol profits were still suffering from the price war but the losses were compensated for elsewhere.

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IRI signals refusal to refuel Alitalia's huge debt engine

JOHN GLOVER in Milan says the state holding company has folded under union pressure — this time it's taking a hard line

IRI, Italy's huge state holding company, this week served notice that a solution to the crisis at national carrier Alitalia must be found — fast. The airline is in a tailspin largely because its poisonous industrial relations have prevented action to stem its mounting losses. In the past, IRI, which owns 89.3 per cent of Alitalia's shares, has always buckled under when faced with union pressure at the airline. Its current hard line towards its off-spring clearly has top-level political backing. Romano Prodi, the new prime minister, is a veteran of two stints as president of IRI. His closest advisor is on leave from his job as director general of the holding company. Moreover, as Italy's most important state holding company, important decisions are made jointly with IRI's owner, the treasury. This is run by ex-premier Carlo Ciampi.

By announcing it would not be attending a shareholders meeting called to agree an initial 1.5 trillion lire (\$230 million) cash injection for the carrier, IRI has set a final deadline for the company to cut a deal with its warring unions. The meeting has been reconvened for June 28. Beyond that date formal bankruptcy looms. Alitalia's financial crash landing would have unpleasant implications for its final owner, the country's first left-wing government in five decades, not least by exposing the cracks in the fragile coalition that sustains it. But neither can the government continue to throw good taxpayers' money after bad. Alitalia is bleeding cash. The deficit it racked up in the 15 months to the end of March this year totals over 900 billion lire, which will reduce its capital stock to less than 150 billion lire. The company also has debts of over 3.5 trillion lire and is expected to lose some 400 billion lire this year. Under Italian law, shareholders must now either fork out more cash to bring its ratios up to at least the legal minimum, or they can set a course for the bankruptcy tribunal. IRI's move is clearly a warning shot. A note issued by the holding company stated that until the company's unions had agreed to the restructuring plan presented by chief executive Domenico Campella, it was postponing any decision over pumping in new cash. The five-year plan calls for costs to be slashed by around 600 billion lire, job cuts of some 3,000 and for a major reorganisation of the company's operations. This includes setting up two new low cost

carriers, one for short-to-medium range flights, one for long-range trips. The plan was open to negotiation by the unions, Mr Campella said, on everything except its impact on the bottom line, the speed of its implementation and its shape. It was promptly rejected. The powerful pilots' unions, which were behind the trips in the ejector seat taken by Mr Campella's predecessor, reacted to news of IRI's warning by stressing the importance of employee involvement in the company. They are hoping to parlay a secret wage rise agreed on last year — which present management has refused to honour — into stock in the company. They are also preparing an alternative plan under which the cost savings will go into a special fund to be used to buy shares for employees when the company is eventually privatised. Unions representing other staff instead called IRI's decision "grave, unthinkable, blackmail". They are hoping to persuade the pilots to sign up to their own alternative plan. They all hope to keep the company in one piece. What is clear is that Prodi, Ciampi and their advisers all know how the system works and they all know the propensity of the IRI group to conduct its industrial relations through endless talk. They also know — and they hope the unions know — that Alitalia's last chance to keep flying is the reconvened meeting at the end of June.

Helena Smith rattles around in Tirana's cavernous Albanian bourse



Nice work... Moneychangers outside the Albanian national bank in Tirana. The government wants them inside as forex dealers. PHOTOGRAPH: MELANIE FRIEND

So quiet, you could hear a share drop

THE Albanian stock exchange is a very quiet place. So quiet, it is hardly worth knowing if it is actually open or closed. But for the 10 brokers who attend its twice-weekly sessions in the cavernous grand hall of Tirana's slow-paced central bank, the Albanian bourse is a very real thing. Its inauguration, last month, marked an "historic moment" for the country in the words of the euphoric president, Sali Berisha. One just five weeks before the former Stalinist state's third multi-party poll, the conservative leader hailed it as the "crowning glory" of his struggle to imbue Europe's poorest economy with a touch of the West.

Yet for all the official enthusiasm, Albanians have quickly discovered that operating a stock exchange is far from easy. As Elvin Meka, the bourse's market sector chief concedes, the world of fast-moving prices can be an elusive one. "As we've very little experience of a market economy, we've found ourselves facing a lot of practical difficulties", he says after a particularly grueling morning on the trading floor. Mr Meka, a thin man with a

forced to end the session in the midst of a heated debate over whether interest rates on treasury bills were also tradeable. "It was typical of the kind of procedural problem we so often encounter," he sighs. "But very soon we hope to be dealing in foreign exchange as well." Albania, which was carved

Arben Papajorgji, a young, fresh-faced trader quickly points out, has "never worked". Despite its apparent drawbacks, the ruling Democrats hope the bourse will take off sufficiently to lure in the hordes of foreign currency dealers milling outside the bank.

the exchange they hope to clamp down on the illegal trade. So far, two — a former factory worker and a policeman — have been officially licensed, but hundreds more would like to follow suit. Although dealers say street trading is a lucrative business — most make \$800 (£533) a month compared to the average public sector salary of \$60 — many believe the bourse would offer them extra security.

"Like everyone here, I started doing this because I was unemployed and could find no other work", said Bujar Lama, an erstwhile detective, carefully balancing a wad of notes in one hand and a computer in the other. "I'd love to enter the stock exchange. It would mean bigger security and higher profits, but like everything else in Albania getting a license is a very corrupt and expensive business."

Ten brokers — representing five banks, two insurers and three individuals — sit patiently at two telephones

out of the remnants of the Ottoman Empire in 1913, has never had a bourse before. For the moment its 10 brokers — representing five banks, two insurance companies and three individuals — sit patiently behind three wooden tables and two telephones in the centre of the chamber. A set of gilt-edged clocks also grace the wall but one, as

Since the collapse of communism, the traders have become an everyday fixture on Tirana's pot-holed backstreets where they blatantly ignore authorities to operate a flourishing black market. With few capital market "experts", officials paradoxically now see the dealers as budding brokers. By moving them off the streets, and into

the exchange they hope to clamp down on the illegal trade. So far, two — a former factory worker and a policeman — have been officially licensed, but hundreds more would like to follow suit. Although dealers say street trading is a lucrative business — most make \$800 (£533) a month compared to the average public sector salary of \$60 — many believe the bourse would offer them extra security.

Peels of protest rise in idyll facing Parisian runways

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

MOURNFUL church bells toll in Beauvilliers today as villagers protest against a decision to drive the runways of Paris's third international airport through their rural idyll. Chosen to absorb future overflow air traffic from Orly and Charles de Gaulle airports, this village 80km south-west of Paris has alienated local central and French planning policy. Its mayor, Georges Lhermitte, claims the 200 residents were not consulted. He said: "The govern-

ment appointed a commission to study three sites — Beauvilliers, another north of Paris and one in Normandy. Without waiting for the commission to begin local consultation, the government has made the announcement." The government's spokesman, Alain Lamassoure, said Beauvilliers was chosen for its low population density and because the environmental impact would be minimal. He said any airport would not come into operation until 2015 at the earliest, adding: "The time has not yet come to make the pro-

ject a reality. It is a matter of setting aside the necessary land." The government believes Beauvilliers would be the best site because fewer than 100 houses would be demolished and fewer than 4,000 people would suffer noise. Chartres, 20 kilometres away, would enjoy an influx of industry and tourism. Mr Lhermitte fears being engulfed in the "suburbanisation" of Paris, the European Union's fastest-growing city. He said: "Forty per cent of the population of Eure-et-Loire (the local département) has come here to escape city life."

Small investors take on Eurotunnel by proxy

Mark Milner European Business Editor

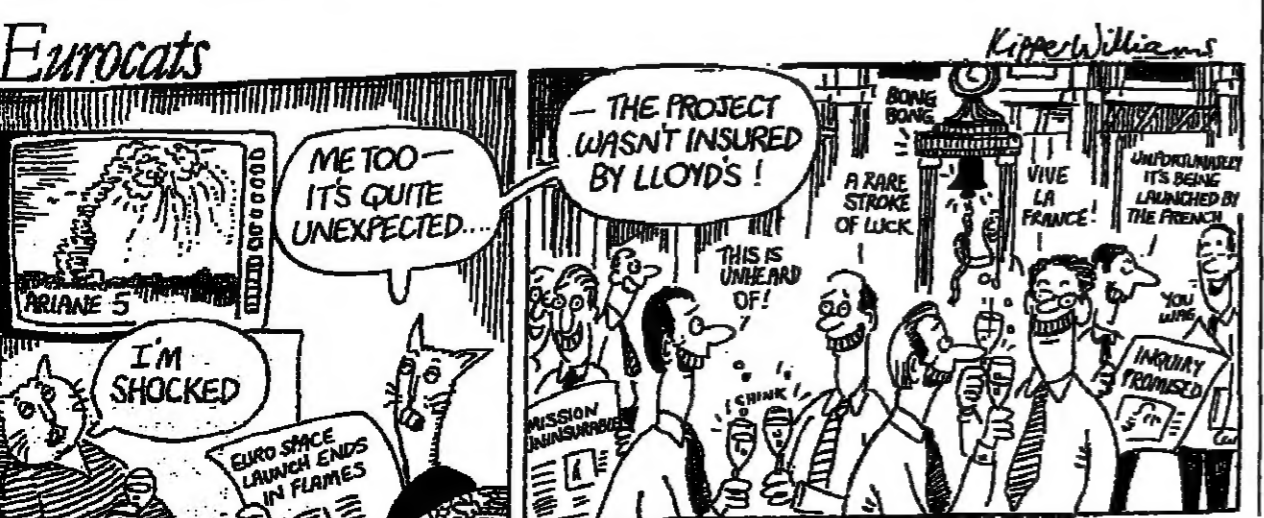
SOPHIE L'Hélias, a Paris-based professional investors' representative, is wooing Eurotunnel's British shareholders as part of a campaign designed to give small investors more say in the company's talks with its bankers over restructuring its massive debt burden. Ms L'Hélias has been brought in by the two associations representing small shareholders in France to represent them at the annual meeting later this month. Her aim is to collect enough proxy votes from small shareholders to give them a say in the restructuring plan under negotiation. The banks are owed about £8 billion. "Many (shareholders) believe that we have a say in the plan. We don't, at least not yet. However, we do have the power to create leverage vis-à-vis the management and vis-à-vis the banks." Ms L'Hélias' strategy is to collect proxies from shareholders who would allow her to vote their shares at the annual meeting demonstrating the strength of small shareholders ahead of the special meeting that will have to be convened to approve any restructuring plan. "The point is not to disrupt negotiations, but to get the best possible terms for shareholders," she says. Ms L'Hélias, whose usual rôle is as a representative of institutional investors in French companies, stresses

Form of Proxy for Eurotunnel S.A. The form includes fields for the shareholder's name, address, and the number of shares. It also contains instructions for how to complete and return the proxy form to Franklin Global Investor Services. The form is titled "PART A Form of Proxy" and "Eurotunnel S.A. Annual General Meeting".

Heard the Polish joke about the gold rush?

Arthur Morika in Zlotoryja

TWO years ago Zlotoryja could have been called a ghost town. Now, though unemployment is still around 24 per cent, it is trying to build a tourist industry on the back of an unlikely prospect. The secret is the name. Zlotoryja is Polish for "place for digging for gold". Not that the town, population 20,000, is sitting on Klondike-sized deposits of the precious metal. Indeed, the area's only workable metal deposit is the rather less glamorous copper and the nearby copper mine, at Legnica, provides the bulk of the jobs in the area. No one can remember exactly who dreamt up the idea of the idea of exploiting the name by running an annual gold-panning competition. But now 2,000 tourists from across Europe turn up for the early summer contest. Participants stand in a cold lake and try to find five small pieces of gold added by the jurors into 20 kilograms of sand. Competitors use the methods of the California gold rush. They place sand into a pan, submerge it under water, and carefully shake and tilt the contents. Professionals can find all the pieces in less than two minutes. Others spend more than 20 minutes unable to find anything. Tourists who come to the city to take part or just to watch the gold festival are spending money. During this year's contest, for the first time in years, the only hotel in town had no vacancies.



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Finance Guardian

Republican contender is being pushed by advisers to ditch his economic principles, writes ALEX BRUMMER in Washington



Travelling light... Bob Dole boards plane on campaign trail. PHOTOGRAPH: ERIC DRAPER

We can cut taxes, reform the tax code and balance the budget

Bob Dole on the deficit he dubbed a stealth tax on Americans

We have the first investment-led, low-inflation expansion since John Kennedy was President. Our history is that expansions end when inflation moves out of control. But, at present, we have low inflation and capacity rising rapidly

Lawrence Summers, deputy treasury secretary

We can't afford to go the voodoo economics route again

Martin Baily, White House economic adviser

The last temptation of Bob Dole

IT WAS a typical Bob Dole moment. Speaking at a rally in the heartland of car country at Warren, Michigan, the Republican presidential candidate acidly quipped: "I can't tell you how glad I am to be able to make this speech before President Clinton got a copy of it and delivered it himself."

nished credentials as a supporter of lower taxes. Mr Dole has never been a great believer in the art of supply-side, tax-cutting economics. His dirt-poor upbringing in the small town of Russell, Kansas, where friends and neighbours were driven to early graves by the burden of debt, triggered his lifelong allergy to deficit financing.

polls — has a huge problem. The election economy appears all but perfect. "As a macro proposition, the economy is in the best shape for 30 years," says the deputy treasury secretary, Lawrence Summers, relaxing on a sofa in his airy office in the US Treasury building adjacent to the White House.

PUTTING aside Whitewater and the character issues, which are certain to be part of the Dole armory, there are a number of more subtle economic trends into which Mr Dole may seek to tap.

nowhere, Mr Dole took the first steps towards forming a brain trust of economists to direct him away from his obsession with balanced budgets towards a more broadly based policy that addressed some of the longer-term weaknesses in the economy.

cherry-wood panelled office high up in New York's World Trade Centre. The themes, which focused on tax reform, were not shocking, he observes. "What would have been radical is if we had considered the current tax system a model of efficiency and logic," he argues.

Income tax cuts, not dissimilar to President Reagan's historic move in 1981. It was argued that this would compensate workers for slow wage growth in recent years. Reducing capital gains taxes, or indexing them to inflation, to lower the cost of capital and stimulate private investment — one of the most serious longer-term deficiencies of the US economy.

supply-side — remained for these purposes — "growth economics". In language reminiscent of the Reagan era, those advising Mr Dole in favour of the programme believe it could be self-financing.

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Six hardliners who tell the candidate what to think

IN ASSEMBLING his panel of six wise men, Bob Dole has sought to tap all shades of economic opinion. Unlike Ronald Reagan, whose economic views were inspired by a group of polemical supply-siders from relatively obscure academic backgrounds, the Dole group is far more conventional, drawing upon some of the most respected names in US economics and including people with practical business experience.

his ground-breaking work on "human capital", applying the laws of economics to everything from education to the family. Martin Feldstein is best known in Washington for his quarrels inside the Reagan White House. While there, he espoused the unmentionable issues of tax increases and tackling the social security budget.

Brothers in New York, having previously been based in London, Mr Lipsky believes that the Federal Reserve is taking a more cautious approach to economic developments in the US because of fears of overheating. John Taylor of Stanford has emerged as chairman of the six-person group. Like Mr Becker, he is seen as a monetary economist and is known for his strong Republican credentials.

Quick Crossword No. 8147

Crossword puzzle grid with clues:
Across: 1 Scrawl (8), 5 Pay attention (arch.) — or bend over (4), 9 Snowhouse (6), 10 Castle — a royal house (7), 11 Home base (12), 13 Day nursery (6), 14 Whistle (6), 17 Insolence (12), 20 Sloth (7), 21 Experience — discrimination (5), 22 Abominable snowman (4), 23 Scripture (4,4)
Down: 3 Murderous (12), 4 Legal (6), 6 Problem — children (5), 7 Tedious (8), 8 Seldom (12), 12 Movement — work (8), 15 Cutting tooth (7), 16 Shrew (6), 18 Fold (5)

Published by Guardian Newspapers Limited at 119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3ER, and at 184 Deansgate, Manchester M60 2RR. Printed at the Guardian Press Centre, 2 Millharbour, London E14 9NG. West Fyfe Printers Ltd, 25 West Ferry Road, London E14 9PL, and at Trentford Park, Pinner, Londonize Road, Manchester M17 1SL, Te-Druckerei GmbH, Admiral-Flaender-Strasse 1, 8078 Neu-

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including "Tuesday June 11 1996", "The poac tale", "FO shake", "Europ gangs up on Major", and "inside".

Handwritten signature or mark at the bottom center of the page.